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THE SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH

BY

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Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar
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PREFACE

This book is an attempt to reconstruct the history of India under the dynasty of Sher Shah. Hitherto, it has been held that Sher Shah left no worthy successor and that his empire broke up after his death. The extant sources for this period, when studied together, enable us to refute this view, so far as the eight years of Islam Shah's reign are concerned.

The materials for this period, however, are not sufficiently detailed and varied. There is a further difficulty that confronts a present day worker, in that it is not possible to find all the extant authorities in one place. Again, after the death of Islam Shah, his kingdom broke into pieces and many independent centres sprang up, whose interplay makes the history of the successors of Islam Shah tangled and obscure. The present writer has, for the first time, made a systematic attempt to work the various accounts of the period into a synthesis and construct its history anew.

The period chosen by the author on account of its falling between two illustrious reigns—the reign of Sher Shah and the reign of Akbar, has not received the attention of any historian. The select extracts translated by Elliot and Dowson leave on the readers' mind the impression that the period was dull and void of interest, a story merely of foul murders, campaigns and sieges. It will be found in the following pages that the critical examination and collation of the accounts of the

different historians have yielded most remarkable results and brought to light many facts of great significance in the later development of Indian life and politics.

The continuation of his father's liberal policy towards the Hindus by Islam Shah, the further development of the excellent administrative system founded by the former, the Reformation movement in Islam, the ascendancy of Himu and his lieutenants like Ramya and Bhagawan Das foreshadowing the future eminence of Raja Man Singh and Todar Mall—all these invest the period of this book with a singular interest. It is now unmistakably proved that many of the achievements of Akbar's reign—the establishment of the king's supremacy in the State, the growth of a feeling of national unity, the administrative and military organisation, had their roots deep in the immediate past. It would now be no exaggeration to say that but for the reign of the Sur kings, there could have been no "Age of Akbar".

In the preparation of this work I have received inestimable help from Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. He allowed me to study the rare Persian manuscripts in his house and was kind enough to lend them to me. At a considerable sacrifice of his time, he read, corrected this book in manuscript and offered new readings to the Persian manuscripts here and there. As a mark of my profound esteem and deep gratitude, this humble work is dedicated to him.

I remember with gratitude the debt I owe to my Professors Dr. R. C. Majumder, M. A., Ph. D., who first imparted to me the spirit of historical research,

and to Mr. A. F. Rahman B. A. (Oxon) M. L. C., formerly Reader in History, now Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University who aroused my interest in the Muhammadan period of Indian History.

To Dr. K. R. Qanungo, Reader in History, Dacca University and to Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, M. A., Curator, Dacca Museum, I owe much. It was Dr. Qanungo who first suggested to me the idea of writing the history of the successors of Sher Shah. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali helped me materially by placing the whole Museum library at my disposal and allowing me the rare privilege of reading in the library at all hours.

I can not adequately express my gratitude to Maulavi Prof. Faizur Rahman of Ananda Mohan College. This venerable Maulana equally versed in Persian, Arabic and Urdu, taught me Persian at a considerable loss of his time and energy and offered me help ungrudgingly in reading the rotographs and translating passages from the manuscripts.

In conclusion, my grateful thanks are due to Mr. K. B. Chakravarty, M. A. Principal, A. M. College for his encouragement and interest in this work, to Lieutenant S. K. Ghosh of the Indian Army for his valuable suggestions on the battle of Panipat, to Mr. K. P. Banerjee, M. A. Lecturer, Kamirunnesa Girl's College, Dacca and to my friend Amitabha Mitra for correcting many errors in this book.

Nirod Bhushan Roy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

No official history of the Sur dynasty was written under the patronage of the Sur Kings ; their history has therefore, to be compiled from the accounts left by the historians of the age of Akbar.

PERSIAN

1. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* of Abbas Sarwani. The author was an Afghan of noble descent who wrote his work at the command of Akbar about 1580 A. D. He was connected by marriage with the family of Sher Shah and his account of the Sur Kings is of great importance, inspite of the many stories introduced in the course of his narrative of Sher Shah's reign. My account of the early life of Islam Shah is taken entirely from this book.

2. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*—by Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi (1492-1581 A. D.) was a religious minded man who took delight in spiritual exercises. Mushtaqi's book is full of silly and absurd stories. Moreover, as Elliot correctly says, the work is very ill-arranged, long digressions are frequently introduced and reference is again made to reigns which had been previously disposed of and to matters which he confesses he had forgotten. I secured rotographs of this manuscript for this period from the British Museum. It does not contain any historical information of value, but gives a lengthy account of Khawas Khan's extravagant generosity.

3. *Akbar Nama* with its supplement of *Ain-i-Akbari*, by Abul Fazl. Though it was an official history of

Akbar's reign, it contains much valuable information relating to the struggle between Humayun and the successors of Islam Shah. On account of Abul Fazl's natural leaning and sympathy towards the family of his master, one might suspect the authenticity of his accounts, but all doubts on this point are settled by the remarkable corroboration of his narrative by Badauni. This shows that Abul Fazl's account of the Sur period is not devoid of truth as held by Dr. K. R. Qanungo but is of inestimable importance. *Ain-i-Akbari* throws welcome light on many obscure points such as *patars*. It is also of great help in ascertaining the location of places.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi. Nizamuddin was an officer under Akbar and completed his history in 1596, in which year he died. He is deservedly praised for his impartiality and sobriety but he has left a very meagre account of the Surs which does not add to our knowledge of this period.

5. *Tazkirat-ul-Waqia* of Jauhar. Jauhar was an attendant of Humayun; he began his book in 1587. His work is not of much importance for the reign of Islam Shah, but it often gives useful information about Humayun's fight with various Afghan chiefs at the time of his final conquest of India.

6. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Badauni. Badauni was born at Badaun in the reign of Sher Shah 1540 A. D. and died at the beginning of the 17th century. He has left a fuller account of this period than any other historian. During the reign of Islam

Shah, and his successors, he was a mere boy, but he witnessed many events of this period which remained imprinted on his memory. As he says (Elliot Vol IV p 497), in his tender years he went to Bajwara, one of the dependencies of Bayana with the army of Farid Taran and witnessed the durbar where the shoes of Islam Shah were saluted and his regulations proclaimed.

7. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana* by Ahmad Yadgar. Ahmad Yadgar was an old servant of the Sur Kings and began his history at the command of Daud Shah. But the book was actually completed between the years 1595 and 1613 A. D. . Ahmad Yadgar has left a fairly lengthy account of the successors of Islam Shah but he often differs from the other historians, *e. g.* his account of the disburance in the audience-hall, after the commencement of Adil Shah's reign, does not agree with the version given by other historians. His account of the treacherous murder of Shujaet Khan is not also supported by other historians. This book should be used with great caution and those statements only should be accepted which are corroborated by other evidences.

8. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* by Muhammad Qasim Firishta. Firishta's account of this period is almost identical with that of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, with a few exceptions like the story of Himu's death.

9. *Makhzan-i-Afaghana* of Niamatullah. The author was a historiographer at the court of Jahangir and finished his work in 1612 A. D. I have not used Elliot's translation which was not based on the original work

of Niamatullah but on a brief later recension. I have relied exclusively on Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's Ms which agrees in most places with Dr. Lee's Ms from which Dorn has given many corrections and additions in the second part of his translation, *e. g.* the character sketch of Islam Shah. A study of Niamatullah's genuine work does not justify Dr. K. R. Qanungo's stricture that Dr. Lee's Ms is "nothing but the narrative of Nizamuddin interwoven with grotesque stories, dreams and prophecies which are Niamatullah's own."

10. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* of Abdullah The author wrote his book during the reign of Jahangir. Prof. Dowson, of course, disparages his account by saying that like all historians of this period Abdullah is very deficient in dates and is fond of reciting stories and anecdotes, many of them not a little marvellous. His remark, however, does not hold good so far as my period is concerned. Abdullah, no doubt, has given a story of the rebellion of Shujaet Khan, but even this is substantially corroborated by other histories. Elliot's translation is not often correct; so here also I have used Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's Ms of *Tarikh-i-Daudi*.

11. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir* or autobiography of Jahangir does not contain any history of this period, but it incidentally gives a description of the fortress of Mankot.

12. *Masir-i-Rahimi* of Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim. This book also does not add to our information of this period, but it throws interesting side-light on Himn.

After using the above original sources, modern works like Erskine's or Elphinstone's history are found to yield no new fact. Besides these, I have consulted, numerous books, Journals, and gazetteers, like the (i) Glossary of the Punjab tribes and castes. (ii) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. (iii) Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum by H. N. Wright. (iv) Imperial Gazetteer. (v) District Gazetteers. and (vi) Rennel's Atlas.

CONTENTS

SUBJECTS	PAGES
CHAPTER I.	
Early life of Islam Shah 	1—6
CHAPTER II.	
Accession of Islam Shah and his struggle with Adil Khan 	7—15
CHAPTER III.	
The Niazi rebellion 	15—27
CHAPTER IV.	
Rebellion of Shujaet Khan and end of the struggle with Khawas Khan ...	27—36
CHAPTER V.	
Mirza Kamran's flight to India ; the reduction of Eastern Bengal Humayun's expedition, the death of Islam Shah 	36—43
CHAPTER VI.	
The religious movement during the reign of Islam Shah 	43—53
CHAPTER VII.	
Administration and character of Islam Shah 	53—64

SUBJECTS	PAGES
CHAPTER VIII.	
Firuz Shah ; Adil Shah and the contest for the sovereignty of Hindustan amongst Adil and Ibrahim, Ibrahim and Sikandar, Sikandar and Humayun	65—78
CHAPTER IX.	
Struggle between Humayun and the Afghan Chiefs,	79—93
Reconquest of Delhi and Agra by Himu and the Second battle of Panipat ...	
CHAPTER X.	
Struggle between Sikandar and Akbar, Adil Shah and Sultan Ghiyasuddin Bahadur of Bengal	94—104
Sher Khan's defeat and the end of the Sur dynasty	

THE SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE OF ISLAM SHAH

Islam Shah was the younger son of Sher Shah. His original name was Jalal Khan.* About his upbringing and education in early life we know little. In later life he composed verses extempore in Persian, which presupposes a fairly high education in his early years. From his youth onwards he gave ample proof of his military capacity, as he took part in almost all the battles that won for his father the sovereignty of Hindusthan.

§ 1. HEROIC DEFENCE OF CHUNAR 1531

Jalal Khan gave the earliest proof of his military ability in 1531 when the Mughal Emperor Humayun marched against the fortress of Chunar. Sher Khan himself withdrew with his family to the hills of Jharkhand, leaving his son Jalal Khan and Jalal, son of

* Dorn says that Jalal Khan's original name was Abdul Jalil and Sher Shah rewarded him for his exploits with the title of Jalal Khan.

Jalu, in charge of the fortress of Chunar. The two Jalal Khans put up a heroic defence; fighting took place every day between the two armies in which both the Jalal Khans displayed great courage and won distinction. The fortress was ably defended for four months; at the end of this period Sher Khan opened negotiations for peace. Sher Khan begged the Mughal Emperor to make over the fort to him and agreed in return to surrender his son Qutb Khan as a hostage. Humayun accepted his terms but made it a condition that Jalal Khan should accompany him as a hostage. Sher Khan remained resolute and refused to surrender Jalal. In the end Humayun took Qutb Khan with him. Humayun's insistence on Jalal Khan, however, indicates that Jalal was regarded as a trump-card whom each party was anxious to possess. (Elliot Vol. IV p. 350).

After 1531 Sher Khan's rise was continuous and rapid. He made himself the virtual master of Behar, defeated the army of Bengal at the battle of Surajgarh in 1534. This victory emboldened Sher Khan to conduct a campaign against the Sultan of Bengal who bought off Sher Khan by paying large sums of money. Again, in 1537, Sher Khan set out for the final conquest of Bengal and laid siege to Gaur, the capital of Bengal.

§ 2. SIEGE OF GAUR

The movements of Sher Khan prompted Humayun to lead an army against him. Humayun appeared in the neighbourhood of Chunar, while Sher Khan was engaged in the siege of Gaur. Sher Khan, thereupon,

hurried towards Chunar to remove his family and that of his followers to a safer place, while Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan were entrusted with the task of prosecuting the siege of Gaur. They made vigorous attempts to storm the fortress; Khawas Khan was drowned in the ditch in one attempt. On his death, his brother Sahib Khan was sent without delay to fill up his place with the title of Khawas Khan.

After his arrival at Gaur, Khawas Khan repaired to Jalal Khan and expressed the wishes of Sher Khan to complete the reduction of Gaur without loss of time. Khawas Khan sought to impress upon Jalal the necessity of immediate action. Jalal Khan, however, wanted to give the soldiers rest before engaging in a new action. This enraged Khawas Khan who went to his camp and ordered the soldiers to prepare for a fight. Khawas Khan intimated the plan of action to Jalal Khan and went out to fight at the head of his army. Vexed and irritated, Jalal came out with his forces, but before his arrival, the fortress had yielded to the assaults of Khawas Khan. Jalal Khan conveyed the tidings of this victory to his father, ascribing it to his colleague Khawas Khan. (Elliot Vol. IV p. 360, Dorn p. 109).

§ 3. DEFENCE OF THE PASS OF GARHI

In the meanwhile, Chunar had opened its gates to Humayun and the Mughal Emperor set out for Bengal. Sher Khan now posted Jalal Khan and Haji Khan at the pass of Teliagarhi, the gateway of Bengal, to hold

in check the army of Humayun. Meanwhile, Sher Khan busied himself in removing the treasures of Gaur to the fortress of Rohtas.

Jalal Khan occupied the pass and bravely held it against the Mughals. The vanguard of Humayun's army under Jahangir Quly was encamped within a short distance of the pass. Bands of Mughal troops came every morning to the pass and tried to force a way open. They irritated the Afghans by abusing them and tried to entice them into an open fight so that with their superior numbers the Mughals might effect a complete rout of the Afghan army. All of a sudden Jalal Khan dashed upon the Mughal troops who, taken by surprise, were completely overpowered. (Elliot Vol. IV p. 367, Jauhar p. 117)

The whole camp of the Mughals—baggage, horses etc. fell into the hands of the Afghans and all, with the exception of a few, were slain. Jalal Khan thus inflicted the first defeat upon the imperial arms. The effect was tremendous. The Afghan troops were filled with courage and self-confidence and their dread of the imperial army diminished considerably.

Jalal kept the Mughal army back until his father had removed the treasures. As soon as it was done, Jalal Khan evacuated the pass and Humayun entered Bengal.

§ 4. BATTLES OF CHAUNSA AND BILGRAM.

While Humayun was merry-making in Bengal, Sher Khan brought all the country as far as Kanauj under his control. The news of Sher Khan's victories

alarmed Humayun who now set out for Agra. Sher Khan met him at Chaunsa. His army was divided into three divisions, one under his own charge, the second under Khawas Khan, while the third was commanded by Jalal Khan. (Akbar namah) Sher Khan easily inflicted a severe defeat on Humayun (1539).

Bilgram followed Chaunsa. Jalal Khan played an important part in this battle too, leading the right wing of the Afghan army. A fierce encounter took place between Mirza Hindal and Jalal Khan ; Jalal fell down from his horse and Mirza Hindal pressed hard on the right wing of the Afghans and broke it. Four persons among whom Jalal Khan was one, however, stood at their posts and the heroic stand made by Jalal and his comrades in arms turned the tide of the war. The scattered forces did not fly headlong in panic but rallied again as soon as Sher Shah dashed forward with his troops to succour the broken wing.

Khawas Khan broke the right wing of the imperial army when the right wing of Sher Shah rallied again. Thus the battle which seemed so hopelessly lost was turned into a victory by the magnificent reckless courage shown by Jalal Khan and his comrades in arms.

Bilgram made Sher Shah master of Northern India. Humayun fled to Lahore. Sher Shah now turned to the reduction of the refractory chiefs in the Punjab. He reduced the Gakkhars, brought the Baloch chiefs under submission. What part Jalal played in the reduction of these chiefs is not known.

§ 5. EXPEDITION AGAINST RAISIN, JODHPUR AND KALINJAR

Jalal, however, accompanied his father in the expedition against Raisin and probably also against Maldev of Jodhpur. From Rajputna Sher Shah marched against Kalinjar. He laid siege to the fortress while Jalal Khan was employed in reducing the country to the east of Kalinjar. In this fatal siege of Kalinjar, Sher Shah was badly burnt by the explosion of bombs. (May. 22nd 1545) and met an untimely death. Sher Shah had formed the plan of conquering the Deccan and to facilitate his great object Jalal was sent to reduce the country of *Rewah to the south east of Kalinjar but everything came to naught on account of Sher Shah's untimely death.

*Rewah--Eighty five miles to the south east of Kalinjar. From Rewah runs a road leading to the Deccan.

CHAPTER II

§ 1. ACCESSION OF ISLAM SHAH AND HIS STRUGGLE WITH ADIL KHAN

When *Sher Shah breathed his last, his eldest son Adil was at Ranthambhor and his younger son Jalal Khan at Rewah.† Sher Shah had nominated Adil as his heir-apparent and always kept Adil with him in order to train him in the kingly duties. Adil was ease-loving and averse to hard labour, whereas his younger brother Jalal Khan was skilled in arms, resolute and did not shirk work.

On Sher Shah's sudden death at Kalinjar, the nobles headed by Isa Khan Hajib met and sent a messenger to Jalal Khan to come as quickly as possible to fill up the place of his late father. On receipt of this news, Jalal reached Kalinjar by forced marches on the 5th day, May 27, 1545 and was placed on the throne by Isa Khan and the other noblemen and assumed the title of Islam Shah.

* Badauni as well as Abdullah place the accession of Islam Shah on the throne at Kalinjar on the 15th of Rabiul Awwal 952 (Badauni *Ranking* p. 435) T. D. (Elliot Vol. IV p. 478). *Tarikh-i-Sher-Shahi* places Sher Shah's death on the 10th of Rabiul Awwal 952.

Elliot Vol. IV p. 409.

† Badauni says Jalal Khan came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Patna, Abdullah says from the town of Rewan in the province of Bhatta, *Firishta* Rewan in the country of Patna. This Rewah cannot obviously be in Patna. We identify it with Rewah to the south east of Kalinjar.

He first avenged the death of his father by putting the Raja of Kalinjar with seventy of his followers to death. He then enlisted the support of the soldiers by ordering two months' pay to be paid to them in cash—one month's pay to be paid by way of reward and the other month's by way of subsistence money. Especially, did he promote the six thousand soldiers that he had maintained during his princehood, the ordinary soldier he raised into an officer and the officer into an Amir (Tarikh-i-Daudi—Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy Elliot Vol IV 479, 480). This preferential treatment of them disgusted the Sher Shahi nobles who felt themselves slighted.

To anticipate any movement by these discontented Amirs, Islam Shah marched from Kalinjar towards Agra as quickly as possible. He wrote to his elder brother Adil Khan at Ranthambhor saying that the fact of the latter being at a greater distance from the capital together with the possibility of disturbances all over the country had driven him to the necessity of taking the command of the army personally. As soon as Adil would reach the capital, he would surrender to him the command of the army.

With such promptitude had Islam Shah ascended the throne and gained the support of the royal troops that the nobles who favoured Adil Khan's accession found it inexpedient to withstand him. Thus Khawas Khan, one of the foremost warriors of the time, who was inclined towards Adil Khan, met Islam Shah at Kora, on the new king's way to Agra and offered his allegiance (Badauni, Ranking p. 486).

§ 2. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ADIL KHAN AND ISLAM SHAH

From Agra Islam Shah again wrote to his brother, expressing great affection and devotion to him. Adil Khan was suspicious of the designs of his brother and made his visit conditional upon the approval of eminent Amirs like Qutb Khan Naib, Isa Khan Niazi, Khawas Khan and Jalal Khan Julwani. Islam Shah sent these eminent persons to Ranthambhor. They assured the prince that Islam Shah would treat him with proper courtesy and would assign to him any jaagir in Hindusthan that he might choose. Encouraged by their words, Adil Khan set out in their company and reached Fathpur-Sikri. Islam Shah came as far as Shikarpur[†] to receive his brother. Here the two brothers met; they exchanged fraternal greetings in great affection and warmth of feeling towards each other in the first meeting and then they started for Agra.

Islam Shah had already formed a plan of treacherously getting rid of Adil Khan. He had ordered his men not to allow more than two or three attendants of Adil Khan enter the fortress of Agra with him.* Accordingly, as soon as Adil Khan entered the fortress, the keepers of the gate forbade Adil Khan's men to

* The translation given in Ranking is not quite correct. The Eng. trans. is. He had made a stipulation that not more than two or three followers should be left in the fort with Adil Khan. The original is

فوار دادا بود که دو سه کس درون قلعه همراه عادل خان

لگزارند M. T. Text p. 376.

enter. At this the followers of Adil Khan became suspicious of the real designs of Islam Shah and forced their way into the fortress. Baffled in his design, Islam Shah flattered and fawned upon Adil Khan, implored him to take the command of the unruly Afghans from him and to shed lustre on the throne by mounting it. Distrustful of this cajolery, Adil refused to accept the throne ; on the other hand, he seated Islam Shah on the throne, saluted him first and offered him congratulations on his accession.

After this apparent reconciliation between the brothers, Islam Shah, in compliance with the request of Isa Khan Niazi, allotted Bayana as a jaigir to Adil Khan and permitted him to proceed there with Isa Khan Niazi and Khawas Khan.

§ 3. WAR BETWEEN ISLAM SHAH AND ADIL KHAN'S PARTY (1545-6)

The question of succession to Sher Shah seemed to have been settled peacefully. Adil Khan, fond of ease and pleasure, voluntarily abdicated the throne and retired to Bayana which was assigned as his jaigir. But it was not long before hostilities broke out afresh between the two brothers. Adil Khan was the eldest son of Sher Shah and was designated heir-apparent. Many eminent noblemen like Khawas Khan, Qutb Khan, Isa Khan Niazi, Jalal Khan Jalu stood by him and were not unwilling to strike a blow for Adil Khan at an opportune moment. These old officers of Sher Shah had been irritated by Islam Shah's policy towards

them ; we have seen that immediately after his accession, Islam Shah made the private soldier of his own army into an officer and the officer into an Amir. Again, the people who received salaries during the time of Sher Shah were granted lands and parganahs. On the other hand, the people who enjoyed jaigirs during the time of Sher Shah were deprived of them (T. Daudi). It was, therefore, only natural that Adil, aided by the foremost Sher Shahi nobles like Khawas Khan and Isa Khan Niazi, would avail himself of the earliest opportunity to seize the throne. Islam Shah could never be at ease so long as Adil Khan lived to be a thorn in his side.

Accordingly, not long after the settlement of Adil Khan in his jaagir at Bayana, Islam Shah sent one of his confidants Ghazi Mahalli to arrest Adil Khan and bring him in chains to Agra. Adil Khan, aware of Islam Shah's designs, fled to Khawas Khan in Mewat for protection.

Khawas Khan found this an excellent pretext for fomenting a great rising against Islam Shah * (M. A. p 77, T. A. p 234)

* Nizamuddin Ahmad, Niamatulla as well as the other historians say that Qutb Khan and Isa Khan who were parties to the compact, were much annoyed with Islam Shah on account of the latter's breach of promise. قطب خان و عیسی خان در عهد و قول داخل بودند - از سلیم خان رنجیده در آمدن مراعات نمودند - (Tabaqat-i-Akbari) This seems to mean that Qutb Khan and Isa Khan were actuated solely by the altruistic motive of defending right and justice which is apparently absurd. Perhaps the truth is that Khawas Khan in collusion with Qutb Khan & Isa Khan availed the attempt to arrest Adil Khan to influence public opinion against Islam Shah and secure the throne.

He opened negotiations with the leading noblemen like Qutb Khan and Isa Khān of Agra and secretly formed a conspiracy with them. It was agreed that Khawas Khan, accompanied by Adil Khan, should arrive at Agra before day-break. The other Amirs would then desert Islam Shah and join Adil Khan.

Khawas Khan and Adil Khan started with a large army from Bayana for Agra, and reached Fathpur-Sikri on the night of Shab-i-Barat. Here lived the famous saint Shaikh Salim Chishti. Khawas Khan, who had great veneration for the Shaikh, halted at this place. He paid homage to the Shaikh and spent the whole night at the hermitage. When he awoke from the bliss of prayer and meditation, he found that it was very late and with all possible speed he could not reach Agra before noon.

This sudden and unexpected arrival of Khawas Khan with troops and the disloyalty of the eminent nobles threw Islam Shah into utter perplexity. He first thought of retreating to Chunar and equipping a powerful army with the treasures of that place. He detached the disloyal nobles Qutb Khan and Isa Khan Niazi from him by sending them to Khawas Khan with a representation and made preparations for a flight to Chunar. The plot that had been carefully laid was almost a success. Islam Shah was about to surrender the throne without a fight, when Isa Khan Hajib intervened and advised him to make a firm stand with the loyal troops (T. Akbari p 234). Islam Shah recovered courage and confidence from these words

and made up his mind to fight. He recalled Qutb Khan and other noblemen who had been sent on a mission to Khawas Khan and ordered his army to march out of the city. The two armies fell upon each other on the outskirts of the city of Agra.* When the nobles who had cast in their lot with Adil Khan saw Islam Shah in the field, they had not the face to desert him and Islam Shah obtained the victory. Khawas Khan and Isa Khan, having sustained a defeat went to Mewat, while Adil Khan went to Panna (M. A. p. 79, Sir J. N. Sarkar's copy) and was not heard of any more.†

§ 4. WAR AGAINST KHAWAS KHAN AND ISA KHAN NIAZI

After this victory, Islam Shah sent his army in pursuit of Khawas Khan and Isa Khan. An encounter took place between the two armies in Firuzpur in Mewat. The army of Islam Shah was defeated and reinforcements were speedily sent to repair the loss. Unable to face this army, Khawas Khan and Isa Khan fled to the Kumayun hills and took refuge with the local Rajas. Islam Shah thereupon sent Qutb Khan for tracking down Khawas Khan.

* Waqiat-i-Mushtaki (Rotographed copy) says that the battle took place in the market-place of Agra (Dar nakase Agra)

† Niamatullah says that Adil fled in the direction of Panna (ba janebe diyara Panna) (M. A. p. 79)

(ii) Nizamuddin ba janebe patta p. 234 (T. A.)

(iii) Badauni says Tahna, towards Bahatta. This Tahna is no other place than Panna.

§ 5. EXTERMINATION OF DISLOYAL NOBLEMEN

Thus the war cloud that thickened fast on the accession of Islam Shah, disappeared. His enemies were crippled, if not crushed. Secure of his position, he repaired to Chunar and seized the treasures of the place. On the way to Chunar, he seized Jalal Khan Jalu and his brother Khudadad and put them to death for their complicity in the plot of Adil. (M. Afaghana) Islam Shah sent the treasures from Chunar to Gwalior and then returned to Agra.

Meanwhile Qutb Khan who was also a fellow conspirator of Adil Khan, was seized with the dread of Islam Shah and fled from Kumayun hills for protection to Haibat Khan Niazi, the governor of the Punjab, who sent him in chains to Islam Shah in obedience to royal orders (M. A. p. 81). Qutb Khan was sent with Shahabaz Khan Luhani, Islam Shah's brother-in-law, Baramjid Gaur and some fourteen other rebel noblemen to the fortress of Gwalior, where they were blown up by gunpowder*. This terrible vengeance struck terror into the hearts of all the disaffected.

* *Tarikh-i-Dauidi* says that Islam Shah exacted a terrible vengeance on all the nobles who had conspired with Adil Khan. Some he ordered to be thrown into prison, while to others he administered poison. He put Mahmud Khan, son of Adil Khan to death, poisoned Baramjid Gaur Jalal Khan Niazi. Zain Khan Niazi, Bahadur Khan, Shams Khan, Jalal Khan Sur and his brother were barbarously put to death by being tied to the feet of an elephant and then these Amirs were paraded through the camp by seating them on an elephant. (Elliot Vol. IV. P 485.)

Badauni says (Elliot Vol. IV) that they were burnt by means of explosion of gunpowder. This account is corroborated by Abul Fazl who records the tradition that they were burnt by gunpowder explosion.

§ 6. SUBMISSION OF THE CHIEF OF MALWA

After he had quelled the hostile noblemen, Islam Shah turned his attention towards the reduction of the leading provincial chiefs who had been ruling in virtual independence. In Bengal Islam Shah removed Qazi Fazihat who was governor there, appointed by Sher Shah and placed Mahmud Khan Sur in his place. He summoned Shujaet Khan, governor of Malwa and Haibat Khan Niazi entitled Azam Humayun, governor of the Punjab. In compliance with the royal orders Shujaet came, paid him homage and was reinstalled in the governorship of Malwa.

CHAPTER III

THE NIAZI REBELLION

§ 1. REBELLION OF HAIBAT KHAN NIAZI

But Haibat Khan, in the pride of his power and wealth, did not care to appear before the Sultan. He wrote a deceitful letter, but to appease the indignation of the Sultan he sent his brother Said Khan (Budauni, Ranking, Eng. Trans. p. 492) who, however, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, fled from Agra and reached Lahore. "Day by day the scale turned in favour of the Niazi faction ; Azam Humayun read the Khutba in his own name in Lahore." Haibat Khan thus

openly raised the standard of rebellion and at this juncture was joined by Khawas Khan and Isa Khan Niazi. A most formidable coalition was thus organised and Islam Shah was called upon to cope with it.

§ 2. HAIBAT KHAN NIAZI

Haibat Khan alone, without the co-operation of powerful war-lords, was a match for Islam Shah. He was a redoubtable warrior, the chief of the Niazi tribe who dwelt on the north western frontier. One of the most trusted lieutenants of Sher Shah, Haibat had fought in the two decisive fights at Chaunsa and Bilgram and had helped Sher Shah in the reduction of Gakkhar country. In recognition of his services Sher Shah had rewarded him with the title of Azam Humayun and the governorship of the Punjab in 1541.

Thus Haibat Khan rose to be the virtual lord of the Punjab. He commanded the undisputed allegiance of the frontier tribes, and the services of an army of thirty thousand men. It was only natural that Sher Shah came to look upon him as a menace to his power and safety and wanted to remove him from the governorship, but before his wishes could be realised, he died.

This was the man whom Islam Shah had to reckon with. Khawas Khan and Isa Khan had not yet yielded to Islam Shah and were ready to co-operate with Haibat Khan in deposing him.

About this time the whole country was in great ferment on account of the Mahdist movement started by Shaikh Abdullah Niazi and his disciple Shaikh Alai.

The Mahdist movement considerably weakened Islam Shah's authority. The popular mind saw in the appearance, of Al Mahdi an evident portent of the impending fall of the ruling dynasty. Islam Shah had, no doubt, sought to strengthen his authority by removing or reducing the provincial chiefs but a change in his fortune was sure to make them veer round to the enemy's side.

§ 3. BATTLE OF AMBALA, 1547

To meet this great danger, Islam Shah hastily returned from Chunar to Delhi and ordered his troops to march towards Lahore. Haibat Khan, too, united his troops with those of Khawas Khan and marched towards Delhi. The two armies came upon each other in the neighbourhood of Ambala. Islam Shah entrenched his army within an enclosure of wheeled carriages and ascended an elevated place with some of his confidants to view the opposing army and from an idea of their strength. (M. A. p. 82 Sir J. N. Sarkar's copy). He ordered his army to chain the wheels together and to advance with great caution. The two armies stood facing each other all night on the battle-field. On that night dissensions broke out in the camp of the Niazis. Haibat Khan and Khawas Khan fell out over the succession to the throne in case of victory. Haibat claimed the throne for himself whereas Khawas Khan stood for Adil Khan. *

* The Niazis said—

ملک مہراٹ نکہرد کے * تا نزد تیغ دو دستی ہے

Smarting with chagrin, Khawas Khan decided to withdraw from the battle.

The battle began next morning. Khawas Khan did not join the fray, and left the battle-field. (T. D. p. 262 Sir J. N. Sarkar's copy). The Niazis fought to the best of their ability and they almost succeeded in overpowering the centre of Islam Shah's army, but in the end they were defeated.

When the battle was raging furiously, Said Khan, the brother of Haibat Khan, attempted to accomplish a feat of great valour. Fully armed and attended by some followers, he broke through the ranks of the enemy towards Islam Shah to kill him. Islam Shah was at that time seated in the midst of the circle of elephants. The elephant driver of Islam Shah, recognising Said Khan by his appearance, hurled a spear at him, but Said Khan made good his escape unhurt.

Notwithstanding their courage and bravery, the Niazis lost the battle. They fled towards Dhankot.* Some of them were plundered by the Kawars (a Jat clan found in the Montgomery district in the Punjab) while others were drowned in the small streams of Ambala.

Islam Shah thus overcame a formidable danger but the struggle with the Niazis was not over. Haibat Khan was not the man to acknowledge defeat and submit so tamely. After his victory, Islam Shah left

* Dhankot—Erskine places it near Kalabagh or Kushalgarh. Dhankot was situated near Kushalgarh in the Sind Sagar Doab situated on the bank of the Indus (Ain-i-Akbari p. 323).

the conduct of the pursuit of the Niazis in the hands of Khawaja Wais Sarwani and himself returned to Agra and thence proceeded to Gwalior.

§ 4. BATTLE OF DHANKOT, 1548—49

Khawaja Wais who had been employed against Haibat Khan, fought many battles with the latter. In the vicinity of Dhankot, a severe defeat was inflicted upon Khawaja Wais who had to retreat as far as Sirhind. (T. D. Ibid, 273.)

Islam Shah lost no time in sending reinforcements. Khawaja succeeded in retrieving the lost position with their help. Haibat Khan again prepared for battle, but this time the tables were completely turned. Near Sambhal, within the vicinity of Dhankot, the Niazi army was completely exterminated, the families of the Niazis were taken captive and sent to Islam Shah who insulted and dishonoured them. Though, in accordance with the custom of the time, Islam Shah has brought disgrace upon his name by this barbaric act. (Badauni Eng. trans. p. 498)*

* Badauni gives a detailed description of the barbarous treatment of the Niazi women. Islam Shah dishonoured them and made over to the harlots in his camp, the banners, tent and all the tokens of the dignity of the Niazis who had fallen into his hands and naming one Said Khan, another Azam Humayun and a third Shahabaz Khan and in this way he distributed titles. He continues and says that this class used to come every Thursday in accordance with the customs of the harlots of Hindusthan to pay their respects to Islam Shah. The heralds and Chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, "O King, cast a gracious glance hither for a certain Khan Niazi and Bahman are here to invoke blessings on thee."

§ 5. THE GAKKHARS (1549-51) AND THEIR FIGHTING WITH ISLAM SHAH

Depressed by successive defeats and thinned in number, the Niaziés now sought protection with the Gakkhars and organised once more a grim resistance against Islam Shah.

The mountainous tracts between the upper courses of the Indus and the Jhelum (the modern districts of Jhelum and Rawalpindi) had been the home of the Gakkhars. During the reign of Sher Shah, Rai Sarang, son of Tatar Khan, was their chief. He had bravely held his own against Sher Shah, who had personally advanced as far as Hathiapur (between Rhotas and Rawalpindi). The Afghan army had had many encounters with the Gakkhars. On one occasion the Gakkhars captured many Afghans and sold them into slavery. Sher Shah thereupon overran the country of the Gakkhars. He took many of them captive including the daughter of Rai Sarang (Akbar Nama Vol. I, p. 398, Eng. trans.) and made a present of her to Khawas Khan.

The constant attacks and the devastation of their country brought Rai Sarang and his son Kamal Khan down to their knees, but Sher Shah wreaked his vengeance by putting Rai Sarang barbarously to death and imprisoning his son Kamal Khan* (A. N. Vol. II, p. 298).

* Dr. K. B. Qanungo says that Rai Sarang continued the fighting against Sher Shah's son and successor Islam Shah. He relies on the evidence of T. D. which says that Islam Shah caught (Sarang) Sultan Gakkhar who was one of the most noted men of his tribe, caused

After Sarang's death, his elder brother Sultan Adam carried on the war. Islam Shah did not succeed in reducing them to subjection. Another warlike tribe settled in the salt range, the Janjuas,* joined the Gakkhars against Islam Shah and baffled all the efforts of the latter.

§ 6. SULTAN ADAM GAKKHAR

However, with the retreat of the Niazi's to the country of the Gakkhars, a great peril menaced Islam Shah. Sultan Adam Gakkhar, anxious to maintain the balance of power, was now an ally of Humayun. Adam

nim to be flayed alive and then confined his son Kamal Khan in the fortress of Gwalior (T. D. Ibid). But this is contradicted by Abul Fazl and Niamatullah—Abul Fazl says (A. N. Vol. II, p. 298) that Sher Shah put Sarang to death and imprisoned his son Kamal Khan in the fort of Gwalior. Tarikh-i-Khan-Jehan Lodi, (Elliot Vol. V p. 134) says—Sarang, being weakened and greatly reduced, submitted in person to Sher Shah who ordered him to be flayed alive and his son to be filled with straw and so pay the penalty of his misdeeds. The joint testimony of Abul Fazl and Niamatullah should undoubtedly be preferred to that of Abdullah.

* The Janjuas were a Rajput tribe, found, though not in large numbers, throughout the Salt range, their headquarters being in the South West Punjab including Bhawalpur and Amritsar. The Janjuas once held almost the whole of the salt range tract but were gradually dispossessed by the Gakkhars in the north, by the Awans in the west and they now hold only the central and eastern parts of the range as tribal territory. Various theories have been ascribed regarding the origin. One account makes them descendants of Raja Mal Rathor, another of Jaipal who fought against Mahmud of Ghazni. The Janjuas now claim that the name of the tribe is derived from that

could easily open negotiations with Humayun, who had conquered Qandahar, and instigate him to win back his lost dominion. Mirza Kamran, ruler of Kabul, and Mirza Haidar, a protege of Humayun, now ruler of Kashmir could be easily persuaded to join this grand alliance.

In such an eventuality, Kashmir would be made the rallying ground of the malcontents and Islam Shah taken completely unawares, by an invasion through the southern passes of Kashmir.*

The prospect of such a possible coalition nerved Islam Shah to the most heroic exertions. He brought the Rajas occupying the country between the Kumayun and the Siwalik hills under his sway. Parsuram, the Raja of Gwalior, paid him homage ; he then began the building of the quadrilateral fortress of Mankot to guard the Kashmir frontier.†

of one of their forefathers Janjuha who is placed eight or nine generations earlier than Raja Mal in most of the genealogies. They were probably converted to Islam early in the 15th century.

(Glossary of the Punjab tribes and castes).

* That this was quite a practicable scheme is shown by the fact that Humayun advanced as far as the pass of Bimbar (1552) and sought to conquer Kashmir as a preliminary to the reconquest of Hindusthan.

Mirza Kamran could easily advance as far as Attock through the Khyber pass and then, instead of taking the Hassan Abdal route, he could easily pass through the Hazara country to Naushera and from Naushera to Srinagar by making a detour through the Baramula pass.

After assembling their forces at Srinagar, they could easily descend on the Punjab via Pir Panjal pass and Jammu.

† Mankot is situated at a distance of five or six krohs from Bin. Bin has been identified by Raverty as being 19 miles north-east of

§ 7. FORTRESS OF MANKOT 1551

Mankot was really a chain of fortresses viz., Sher-garh, Islamgarh, Rashid-garh, Firuzgarh, and Mankot, built at a strategic place. The fortresses were built of stone and mortar on the hill-top and the chain of fortresses looked from a distance like a single fortification. Provided with an abundant supply of water and provisions, the fortress was regarded as a work of the genii (T. D.). For conquering such a position, Islam Shah pressed the Afghans into service and made them work, on pain of severe punishment, without pay. This irritated the Afghan nobility and they formed a plan for murdering Islam Shah. On one occasion he went to visit the fortress. As he was passing through a narrow pass, attended by only a few attendants, an assassin suddenly fell upon him and struck him with his sword. Wounded in the neck and fingers, Islam Shah quickly sprang down from his horse and overpowered the assailant and wrenched the sword off his hands. Daulat Khan Ujiala, his boon companion and associate, took the assailant in charge and in obedience to royal orders immediately put him to death.

Sialkot and eight miles south-west of Jammu. It is on the east bank of the Chenab.

On the other hand, Beveridge in *A. Namah* Vol. I. p. 600 regards it as Bain in the Bannu country. T. D. however distinctly tells us Bin is situated near Sialkot (Elliot Vol. IV p. 497). Bin cannot be in the Bannu country. We are inclined to accept Raverty's identification.

Mankot is 76 miles North of Amritsar (32°37' N 74°55') E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* p. 414.

The report spread abroad that the King had been slain. Islam Shah returned to the camp, showed himself to the people and silenced the rumour. A darbar was then summoned and it was found on examination that the assassin's sword was the one he had presented to Iqbal Khan. This Iqbal Khan was his favourite, raised to eminence, from a low position. Islam Shah showed great forbearance, spared the life of Iqbal Khan but degraded him to the position of a foot-soldier. During the years, when the building of the fortress of Mankot was in progress, fighting continued against the Gakkhars and the Niazis. This protracted fighting exhausted the resources of the Niazis till at last they were compelled to leave the Gakkhar country for the hills of Kashmir.

§ 8. THE KASHMIR EXPEDITION AND THE END OF THE NIAZIS 1552

With the retreat of the Niazis into Kashmir, the struggle now entered on the last phase. They were paralysed but so long as their leaders remained alive, they would continue as a perennial source of trouble. To extirpate them completely, Islam Shah personally led his army against them. He advanced as far as the pass of Bimbhar* while Mirza Haidar, the ruler of Kashmir, held the pass against the Niazis from dread of Islam Shah (T. D., *Firishta* p 231).

* Elliot translates this passages as—advanced as far as Kaithali Shahar which is absurd. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar reads it as "Ghatio Bimbhar", the pass of Bimbhar which is obviously the correct reading.

The Niazis, finding themselves pressed on both sides, went to Rajaori, (111 miles north of Gujrat town in the Punjab) took refuge with Mohammad Nazir and Sabr Ali, the governors of Rajaori (Elliot Vol. IV p. 497).

Islam Shah then pursued them as far as Madad in the country of Naushera. Finding the mountain pass very narrow and the expedition a hazardous affair, Islam Shah opened negotiations for peace with Haibat Khan through his trustworthy servants, Said Khan and Abdul Mulk.*

Reduced to utter distress, Haibat Khan readily agreed to peace and as a pledge of his submission, surrendered his son and mother as hostages to Islam Shah. Islam Shah, thereupon, left the hills and remained encamped at Bin, near Mankot.

Misfortune now dogged the heels of the Niazis. Daulat Chak, Ghazi Khan, Jai Chak went to Haibat Khan and sought to enlist his aid in expelling Mirza Haidar from Kashmir (Appendix to Tarikh-i-Rashidi p. 484). Haibat Khan took counsel with his followers on this matter. Driven to desperation, the majority of them counselled war as evidently decree of the Almighty. But exhausted by adversity, Haibat Khan refused to undertake such a hazardous enterprise ; on the other

* According to Rodgers the peace negotiation was opened by Haibat Khan who sent Said Khan to Islam Shah. We are inclined to place greater reliance on Tarikh-i-Daudi than on collated copies of Firishta used by Rodgers.

hand he sent a Brahmin to Mirza Haidar, with proposals for peace and soliciting his help in his distress. Mirza Haidar sent him a large sum of money and promise of safety. (T. D., p. 497.)

Encouraged by this help, Haibat Khan again marched towards Hir in Jammu where he wanted to live in obscurity but the guides led the Niazis astray and Idi Ratna, Hussain Makari, Bahram Chak were ordered by Mirza Haidar to attack the Niazis with a force of Kashmiris. (Elliot Vol IV p. 4975 Appendix T. R.). The Niazis, betrayed and outwitted, prepared for battle. Even the women girded on quivers and took up bows. Bibi Rabia, the wife of Haibat, fought valiantly and smote Lali Chak with her sword. The Niazi leaders, were, however, unable to stand against the superior numbers of the Kashmiri army,—Haibat Khan, Said Khan, Shahabaz Khan, Firuz Khan and Bibi Rabia—fell in the battle. Mirza Haidar sent the heads of the Niazi brothers through Yakub Mir to Islam Shah. With the death of the Niazi leaders, the flames of Niazi rebellion were finally extinguished (1547-1552) ; Islam Shah, freed from anxiety, returned to Agra. (T. A. 236.)*

* The accounts given in T. D. by Rodgers of the Kashmir episode are very sketchy and cannot be followed in certain instances. It is narrated in T. D. that after Mirza Haidar had assured Azam Humayun safety, he marched from the encampment to the village of Buzurg. When the faithless Kashmiris saw that Azam Humayun was unsuccessful, they turned against him and deserted him. It is very difficult to find out any logical connection between the two sentences.

§ 9. ISLAM SHAH AND MIRZA HAIDAR, RULER OF KASHMIR 1550-1551

The retreat of the Niazi rebels into Kashmir brought Islam Shah into contact with the ruler of Kashmir. Though a protege of Humayun, Mirza Haidar maintained friendly relation with Islam Shah and offered him allegiance. There was an exchange of presents and relation between them was very cordial.

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. REBELLION OF SHUJAET KHAN

We have seen that, after his victory at Ambala, Islam Shah hastened to Gwalior and summoned Shujaet Khan to his presence. This noble had often avowed loyalty to his new master, but was watching for an opportunity to assert his independence.

Such an opportunity had presented itself, when the Niazis raised the standard of rebellion and absorbed the energies of the King, but Shujaet's ambition was nipped in the bud by Islam Shah's alacrity and rapidity of movements.

This Shujaet Khan (original name Sheikh Ismail) was a boon companion of Sher Shah from 1517 and had followed his friend and master through the vicissitudes of his life. As early as 1533, rewarded with the title of Shujaet for his bravery, he had participated in the

campaigns that won for Sher Shah the sceptre of Hindusthan. His most conspicuous service was the subjugation of Malwa. His victories over Nasir Khan and Mallu Khan, chiefs of Malwa, earned for him great renown. His master appointed him governor of Malwa with an army of twelve thousand men, in recognition of his services (June 1542). Virtual Lord of Malwa from 1542-47, he firmly established his power and bade fair to become a competitor for the Sultanate of Delhi.

To checkmate his designs, Islam Shah hurried to Gwalior after his victory at Ambala. Shujaet came to Gwalior, renewed his allegiance, but one day, as he was going to pay his respects to Islam Shah, he was wounded by a ruffian named Osman. This Osman had been punished by Shujaet with the loss of his two hands for his drunkenness and revelry in the audience chamber of Shujaet. Suspicious of Islam Shah*

* The accounts of Nizamuddin, Niamatullah, Badauni and Firishta are in substantial agreement with that of Abdullah, though the latter writes at greater length.

Abdullah says (Elliot Vol. IV) one day an Afghan named Osman, intoxicated by drinking wine, entered the dewankhana of Shujaet Khan and repeatedly spat on the floor; when the farashes forbade him, he gave them blows. When the matter was reported to Shujaet Khan, he ordered the hands of Osman to be cut off. Osman there upon went to Gwalior and complained to Islam Shah, but the latter took no steps. When Shujaet went to Gwalior, Osman went to Islam Shah and again demanded redress. In an angry mood, Islam Shah asked him to go and avenge himself on Shujaet Khan. Osman had a hand made of iron and one day as Shujaet was going to the King, he saw Osman in a shop and halted to enquire after him. Osman sprang

Shujaet attributed this attempt on his life to the instigation of the King, and suddenly departed towards Sarangpur with his army. Islam Shah, aware of his desertion, set off personally towards that town. Shujaet, on the arrival of Islam Shah in the vicinity of Sarangpur, retreated without offering battle. Shujaet made way

on him and wounded him with a knife. Osman was killed on the spot by the attendants.

On hearing this news, the King sent some of his courtiers to Shujaet and expressed his willingness to visit him. Aware of his son's hostile attitude, Shujaet humbly forbade him to take the trouble of a visit.

Notwithstanding this representation, Islam Shah went alone to the camp of Shujaet Khan. Fath Khan, Shujaet's son, wanted to kill him on the spot. To avert the calamity, he was sent by his brother Mian Bayazid in preparing presents for the King. Islam Shah safely returned but he became very annoyed with Shujaet Khan.

After his recovery, Shujaet went to Islam Shah who presented him with 101 horses and 101 bales of silk cotton of Bengal. Treated with so much distinction, Shujaet became suspicious of the designs of Islam Shah. He suspected that this excessive generosity was inspired by hypocrisy. He went to the camp, ordered his baggage to be loaded and army to be equipped. He ordered drums to be beaten and departed towards Sarangpur.

Nizamuddin, Niamatullah and Badauni say that Shujaet, being wounded fled, but from Tarikh-i-Daudi it appears that his intention was not pacific but rebellious. Otherwise there could be no justification for his marching back with the whole army.

This is also corroborated by Abul Fazl who says in *Ain-i-Akbari* Jarett Vol. II "During the supremacy of the usurper Sher Khan, the control of the province was vested in Shujaet Khan who rebelled during the reign of Salim Khan and assumed independence under Mubaz Khan."

with his family and troops towards Banswara.* From Banswara he proceeded to Dungarpur where he found asylum with the Raja of that place (A. N. p. 136).

Malwa was easily brought under Islam Shah's control, but apprehensive of trouble from Shujaet Khan, he posted Isa Khan with twenty thousand troops in Ujjain and then returned towards Gwalior (T. D.). The Niazis again raised their heads and Islam Shah found it expedient to pacify Malwa before proceeding on a war of extermination with the Niazis. Daulat Khan Ujiala, son of Shujaet, was a boon companion of the King. He implored for the pardon of his father. The request was granted and Shujaet Khan hurried to the presence of Islam Shah who pardoned his faults (T. D. Elliot Vol. IV p. 492).

Islam Shah forgave him, but granted him only Sarangpur, Raisin and some other districts (T. D.) The whole Sarkar of Malwa he assigned to men whom he trusted. This was an act of great political wisdom ; in this too, he followed in the footsteps of his father, who, realising the dangers arising from the creation of big governorships, had divided his kingdom into sarkars though he left two provinces, Malwa and the Punjab, untouched. Islam Shah rectified the mistake of his father by depriving Shajaet Khan of the entire charge of the province. During the rest of his reign, Shujaet remained loyal to him. When Muhammad Adil came

* Banswara—North west of Dhar on the Gujarat Frontier, east of Ahmmadabad and south of Dungarpur (long 74° lat 28°).

to the throne after the death of Islam Shah, Shujaet was again invested with the government of the whole province (A. N.)*

* Ahmad Yadgar, says that Shujaet Khan fell a victim to Islam Shah's treachery. The historian thus gives the story of Shujaet's death. Shujaet Khan, Ghazi Khan Sur, and Haji Khan were directed by Islam Shah to lead an expedition against Surat Sing Rathor, Raja of Chatsu. The beauty of Surat Singh's daughter had spread far and wide and also the fame of his white elephant. Apprehending an invasion of the country, two of Surat's lieutenants, Kumbha and Pampa, strengthened the defences of the city by erecting an earthen circumvallation round Chatsu with a deep ditch protected by outworks in different places.

On the sudden arrival of Islam Shah's army near the village of Nagor, they found the Rajput armies unprepared whereas the three noblemen decided on an immediate attack with 4000 cavalry and a few elephants. Shujaet led the attack supported by Haji Khan and Ghazi Khan Sur on the right and left respectively. The Rajputs maintained their ground against the repeated attacks of Shujaet Khan but at this time Ghazi Khan and Haji Khan left the battle-field, in accordance with a secret agreement between them and Islam Shah who wanted to get rid of Shujaet. Shujaet, even after the desertion by the two chiefs, fought to the last. His horse fell covered with wounds; he then fought with bows and arrows till he died. Islam Shah rejoiced at the death of Shujaet and held a special festival. Ahmed Yadgar says, in addition, that in order to make amends for this treacherous assassination, he elevated Daulat Khan Ujjala, the son of Shujaet, to the rank of his father. Appendix to Elliot Vol. IV p 503.

This account of Ahmad Yadgar cannot be accepted as it is at variance with the account left by Badauni, Abul Fazl, Niamatullah, Nizamuddin and others who are unanimous in asserting that Shujaet Khan asserted independence after the death of Islam Shah.

§ 2. END OF THE STRUGGLE WITH KHAWAS KHAN

Khawas Khan was eminent as a warrior, pre-eminent in generosity, a choice companion of Sher Shah, and it was his military ability that had contributed to his master's victory at Chausa and Bilgram, and brought the Punjab and the Rajputna under his subjugation.

We have seen, that after the death of Sher Shah, he had espoused the cause of Adil Khan and been defeated at the battle that took place in the outskirts of Agra. He then joined Haibat Khan Niazi, but, on account of disagreement with the latter, left the battle-field and turned towards Lahore with five or six hundred cavalry. Taking advantage of the absence of Shams Khan Luhani, the governor of Lahore, Khawas and Isa Khan laid siege to the city, but the siege was abandoned on the arrival of Rai Hussain Julwani with thirty thousand men. The besiegers cut their way through that "wall of steel" as the army of Islam Shah is described by Badauni. Emboldened by the success of this desperate effort, the army of Khawas Khan made a charge upon Hussain Julwani's army from the rear, but he fell down from the horse and was severely wounded; he was carried away from the battle-field upon a four-legged stool. Khawas Khan then made his way to Nagarkot and once more found refuge in the Kumayun hills (1548-49).

It was about this time that Islam Shah was occupied with the grim struggle with the Niazis. After the defeat at Dhankot, Islam Shah personally took the conduct of the campaign against the Niazis (1549). The years from

1548-52 were in fact the most critical years of his reign. With Kabul in the hands of Mirza Kamran, Kashmir in the possession of Mirza Haidar, the Niazis and the Gakkhars united in a common hostility, Islam Shah's position was most insecure. The renewed hostility of Khawas Khan made matters worse for him. In order that he might not aggravate the troubles by provoking disturbances, Islam Shah appointed Taj Khan Kararani, one of his most trusted servants, to the district of Sambhal, and ordered him to get hold of Khawas Khan by any means, fair or foul. Taj Khan sent to Khawas Khan the royal message of safety.* Relying on the word of honour, Khawas Khan repaired to Taj Khan,

* Ahmad Yadgar gives more details regarding the assassination of Khawas Khan. He says (Elliot Vol IV, p 530-3) that after Khawas Khan had found refuge with the Raja of Kumayun, Taj Khan was directed by Islam Shah to use every means to get hold of him. Taj Khan sought at first to win over the Raja but failed.

Islam Shah then personally wrote to Khawas Khan to forget the past and to come to his rescue. The Rana of Udaipur had raised his head, plundered the royal territory and carried off the wives and daughters of the Mussalmans. Islam Shah made a solemn protestation of his good intentions. Khawas Khan, believing in the sincerity of the king, offered his services to the king to save the honour of Islam. When he arrived within forty miles of Sambhal, Islam Shah wrote to Taj Khan to slay Khawas immediately on the latter's arrival before him.

Accordingly, on the arrival of Khawas Khan at the town of Sarsuti, Taj Khan went with his army to meet him but caused him to be assassinated at night by one of his agents.

It was found on the next morning that the body of Khawas Khan was covered with about ten seers of flowers. Taj Khan cut off the head and sent it on a spear head to Islam Shah.

but by the order of Islam Shah, the promise was broken and the brave leader was treacherously put to death. (Badauni, Eng. trans. Ranking). Thus came to a tragic close the career of a great Afghan leader who had done so much for the re-establishment of Afghan supremacy.

This treacherous assassination has cast a blot upon the name of Islam Shah but it should be mentioned that Khawas was obstinate and tenacious in his resistance to Islam Shah. He was an avowed rebel, the ringleader of the plot that threatened to deprive Islam Shah of his throne.

After his death, Khawas Khan came to be regarded as a martyr and was canonized as a saint. He was sufistic in tendency, and his charity was unlimited. He gave grand feasts and entertainments* which astonished the noblemen. He gave away wealth in lacs and heaps without stint. During the reign of Sher Shah, he paid

* During the Gakkhar campaign in the reign of Sher Shan, the army was in great distress for want of food. The leaders of the army were completely at loss. Khawas Khan at this juncture invited the whole army to dinner. At the appointed time, the Amirs came and dishes were placed before them. The menu is interesting and quoted in the original

و بز و خسی و غیر طعامها الوان بخندی گوسفند دنبه دار
 از طعام فارغ شدند شهر بریج و برنج شهر جفرا تها
 اعلی پیش مردم آوردند - بعد ازان حاوا پوری سهالی
 کلکلی کنهندی - بری برا و پهاوری و مذکوری و مذکوجهی
 نبات غیر مکرر حاضر آوردند چون مردم از شربت
 فراغت یافتند پره پان در کرد .

This feast over, all people expressed their wonder and astonishment. It was regarded as a miracle ; (Waqiat-i-Mushtaki).

two lacs of rupees to the sweetmeat-sellers of the city in order that they might send sugarcane to Ranthambhor without intermission. He gave money to all the mango-gardeners of Bayana in order that they might send mangoes day after day to the halting places for the poor and the needy (Badauni, Ranking Eng. Trans.).

Towards the faqirs especially, his generosity was boundless. He had not less than two thousand and five hundred apartments in his palace, each of these rooms was spacious enough to accommodate one hundred faqirs who were given a gratuity of two seers of corn per diem (Elliot Vol. V, p. 529). A severe famine broke out in Nagor, when the faqirs and other people gathered round him. Filled with compassion for them, Khawas arranged to feed daily two thousand and five hundred houses. Two seers of corn were fixed for each individual and one day when corn was not available, he ordered fruit to be given to them.* (Waqiat-i-Mushtaki, Rotographed copy).

At the end of a quarter of every night, he used to come out with a cauldron—one pot filled with sweets and another with rice and a third with money. He

* There are other instances of Khawas Khan's succouring the army by providing the supplies. During the campaign with Maldev, food became so scarce that there was none even for Sher Shah. To the utter astonishment of all, Khawas Khan sent two kids, two maunds of ghee, rice, flour and two maunds of honey (Waqiat-i-Mushtaki). It is said by Niamatullah that on every friday night he caused puddings to be prepared with one hundred and eighty maunds of sugar and distributed them among the faqirs. He carried the plate in his own hand and often put the morsels into the mouths of the faqirs.

went through every nook and corner of the city, found the faqirs out and gave them these things.

The faqirs of various kinds—Palang, Langatbond, Kaupin wearer, Piyan Piyare, Yogi, Sannyasi, Muni, Digambara,—it is said, were ever present with him in all places. They are said to have accompanied him on the battle-field. When he was defeated at the first battle, the carts of the faqirs were sent ahead and during the journey food was given in the carts (W. M.). His charity towards the faqirs was often a wasteful extravagance. On the occasion when he was going towards Kashmir, one friday night faggot could not be gathered for the preparation of sweets on account of heavy rain and snowfall. When Khawas Khan heard this, he became very much perplexed. Accidentally two hundred bales of velvet had arrived in his camp that day from Bengal. By his order these bales of cloth were besmeared with scented oil and kindled for the preparation of sweets (M. A. p. 58, Ms.) If his generosity for the faqirs went into excess, he was not indifferent to the distress of the poor and the afflicted. He maintained several thousands of widows by granting allowance. Every year he gave clothes of various kinds, thousands of blankets to the poor and the needy. After his death his tomb became a holy shrine and was frequented by all classes of pilgrims.*

* Khawas (Khan's) tomb was pointed out to Elliot at Khawaspur in the upper Punjab between the Jhelum and the Chenab. He says that Khawas Khan is in the neighbourhood held in high repute for

CHAPTER V

MIRZA KAMRAN'S FLIGHT TO INDIA AND THE REDUCTION OF EASTERN BENGAL

§ 1. MIRZA KAMRAN'S DISTRESS

During the years 1545-50 Humayun conquered Kabul from his brother Kamran several times and also lost it. Finally driven out of Afghanistan, Mirza Kamran retreated to India and sought the help and protection of Islam Shah, March 1552 A. D. (A. N.) Islam Shah treated Mirza Kamran's ambassador, Shah Budagh Khan with honour and sent through him a sum of thousand rupees and a promise of help (Gulbadan Banu's Humayun Namah p. 200). After the return of Shah Budagh, Mirza Kamran, in his eagerness to secure help, sent again Ali Ahmad Asp.

Impatient and restless, he decided to visit Islam Shah without delay and set out for Bin where Islam Shah then was. Welcomed on the way, Kamran arrived at Bin but was sadly undeceived when he was directed

his piety and courage and there are popular songs sung in his praise under the appellation of Sakhi or generous. Ahmad Yadgar's account (p. 336-42, Elliot Vol IV).

Elliot says further that the people of Sind gave him the name of saint Khawas Khan. His tomb is frequented even at the present day and the people esteeming him to be a saint go there to offer prayers for success in their undertakings.

to perform the customary salutation before Islam Shah, like an ordinary servant.*

After humiliating him, Islam Shah treated him with some honour and many favours. Kamran gave expression to his feelings in verses, whereupon he was placed under surveillance.

On the extinction of the Niazi rebellion, Islam Shah started for Delhi with Kamran in his company. When he arrived at Machiwara, (23 miles south-east of Ludhiana) Mirza Kamran made good his escape at midnight, disguised as a woman. As soon as this was discovered, an army was sent in pursuit of him but he succeeded in eluding the army and reaching the village of Gharikue on the bank of the Jhelum. He was arrested there and handed over to his brother Humayun who caused him to be blinded. [Elliot Vol. V, p. 126]

§ 2. THE REDUCTION OF EASTERN BENGAL

During the reign of Sher Shah, Khizir Khan, the governor of Bengal, rebelled. Sher Shah promptly

* Badauni gives a detailed account of this interview. He says that Islam Shah sitting on the seat of a Faraun or a Shaddad gave orders to Sharmast Khan Daud Zai in accordance with which he directed Mirza to perform the customary salutation like the servants and the ordinary public. He accordingly performed the kornish and these diabolical men out of sheer inhumanity seized Mirza roughly by the nape of the neck and shouted aloud several times saying "your majesty, be pleased to cast a glance hither for Kamran muqqadam zada of Kabul invokes blessings." Islam Shah after ignoring him for some time cast a haughty glance in the direction of Mirza and uttered a hypocritical welcome.

suppressed this rebellion and re-organised the administration of the province.

It is evident, however, that Sher Shah held sway over a limited portion of Bengal only. Two coins have been found which testify to the fact that Eastern Bengal was outside the pale of Sher Shah's dominions†. The coins dated 949⁶ A. H. 1542 A. D. bear the inscription—Barbakuddunia Uddin, Abu Muzaffar, Barbak Shah, son of Humayun Shah, May God protect his kingdom and rule (Bengal past and present Vol. XXXV, July 1929 p 18). These two coins have been found in Eastern Mymensingh and Sylhet and prove that this chief ruled independently in those regions. It is very likely after the conquests of Sher, Mahmud Shah retreated to the fluvial region of Eastern Bengal and ruled there.

This pretended son of Humayun was not the only prince who bade defiance to Sher Shah at the height of his power. The father of Isa Khan, one of the twelve chiefs of Bengal, also ruled in Bhati region in

† One of the coins was found at Jasodal in the Kishoreganj Sub Division of the Mymensingh district. (The coin is described and illustrated as no 239 in Vol. 11 of the catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum p. 182) The other coin exactly like the first was found in Sonakhira village in Sylhet described as No. 24 p. 160 Vol. 11 of the catalogue of coins in the Shillong coin cabinet). The inscription in original is **برک الدنیا والدین ابر المظفر بریک شاه ابن**
همايون شاه خلد اسم ملکہ و سلطنتہ

Dr. Qanungo's statement that Sher Shah's kingdom extended on the east to the hills of Assam is not therefore correct.

independence of the sultan of Delhi. The hostility of these chiefs was a source of constant trouble to the government of Delhi. It was Islam Shah who curbed their power and brought Eastern Bengal under his sway.* He sent Taj Khan and Darya Khan with a large army against the father of Isa Khan. After an obstinate fight the chief surrendered, but probably, taking advantage of Islam Shah's entanglement with the Niazis, he again rose in rebellion. The Afghan generals, Taj Khan and Darya Khan were again sent to Bengal. They got hold of the father of Isa Khan by a trick and extinguished the rebellion by putting him to death and selling into slavery his two sons, Isa and Ismail. Eastern Bengal thus came under his sway (A. N. Vol. III p. 647).

§ 3. HUMAYUN'S EXPEDITION TO INDIA 1553 A. D.

Secure about Mirza Kamran, Humayun set out to recover India. He planned to conquer Kashmir as the first step and make it the base of his operations ; but his officers advised him to desist from such a risky enterprise. The soldiers complained and murmured. But Humayun persisted.

Islam Shah was at this time staying at Delhi and strengthening its defences against the expected invasion of India by the Mughals. He laid the foundation of the fortress of Salimgarh on the bank of the Jumna, just opposite the fortress of Dinpanah which was built by Humayun. A double line of walls was also built around the city of Delhi.

Just at this time news reached him that Humayun had crossed the Indus. Islam Shah was at this time stricken with illness (blood-pressure) and had applied leeches to his throat. The news stirred him to immediate action. He took off the leeches from his throat, bandaged his wound and mounted his horse. Losing no time in consulting the astrologers and selecting an auspicious hour for his march, he ordered his army to proceed.

It is said that the thirty thousand horsemen who always accompanied him were not present in the city. On receipt of the news, they forthwith came back and started on the march towards the Indus. There was still another difficulty : the bullocks for the gun-carriages had been sent away. Islam Shah thereupon ordered the camp followers to drag the gun-carriage*.

With the utmost promptitude he proceeded to Lakhnūr (M. A. p. 87) with an army of sixty thousand infantry. The news of the march of Islam Shah with a vast army struck terror among Humayun's soldiers. They began to complain and murmur saying, "The noise of the army of fortune has caused commotion in India, whilst Salim Khan (Islam Shah) is coming to the Punjab with great preparation" (A. N. p. 605 Vol. I.) Desertion began in his army ; Humayun who had advanced as far as Bhimbar was now compelled to beat a retreat and returned to Kabul. Thus ended in a fiasco the first attempt of Humayun to reconquer India.

* T. D. says that Islam Shah had three lacs of camp followers : of them 50,000 were provided with mattocks for entrenching the camp. Each gun was pulled by one thousand infantry.

§ 4. SECOND ATTEMPT ON ISLAM SHAH'S LIFE

After the flight of Humayun, Islam Shah returned to Gwalior, and freely indulged in the pleasures of the chase. The Afghan nobility shorn of their power, made another attempt on his life. One day when he was hunting in the neighbourhood of Antri, * some wicked men lay in ambush near the road with the intention of killing him ; by chance Islam Shah took a different route and entered the capital safely. This plot was soon discovered and Islam Shah exacted terrible vengeance from the conspirators. He seized many of them, including Bahauddin Mahmud and Mada, and put them to death. This was the second and the last attempt on his life.

§ 5. THE LAST DAYS OF ISLAM SHAH

Free from all complications, Islam Shah began to pass his days in pleasure and enjoyment, but ere long evil destiny rendered him completely powerless. He was afflicted by a painful disease, a tumour in his privy parts. The best physicians were summoned, but to no purpose. As days rolled on, the pain increased and he could neither sleep nor eat well. As he lay senseless under a tormenting pain, his relatives and friends realised that the end was near and began to weep. Before the end, he recovered his consciousness and opened his eyelids, but he could only make gestures to Taj Khan, a prominent nobleman and his friend, to

* Antri—Fort, Railway Station 26°. 3 N, 76°. 16 E in Central India.

indicate his helpless state. Then, as he attempted to speak, his pulse suddenly stopped beating and he passed away on Oct. 30th, 1553*. His body was removed from Gwalior to Sasseram and buried not far from the tomb of his father.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT DURING THE REIGN OF ISLAM SHAH

The reign of Islam Shah was marked by a religious movement which aimed at reviving the pristine purity of Islam. A mysterious prophecy had been made by Muhammad, that when the world would be filled with oppression, injustice and violence, a saviour would appear on earth and re-establish the reign of justice and peace. The words of the Prophet "when of my time one day shall be left, God shall raise up a man from among my descendants" held out the undying hope of a future Restorer of the Faith.

When Islam entered on the century, preceding the first millennium, this prophecy was widely talked of

* Nizamuddin and Firishta say that he died in the beginning of 960 A. H., Abdullah dates only 960 A. H.

Niamatullah places it on the 26th of Zihijja 960, Abul Fazl places it 22nd Ziqada 960 Oct. 30, 1553.

among the people who looked about for the promised Messiah. This popular expectation seemed to be justified when in the beginning of the 10th century of the Heijra, a man of great piety and rare oratorical gifts appeared in Jaunpur. This was Mir Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mir Sayyid Khan of Jaunpur. His saintliness of life, fervid eloquence gained many converts and he was hailed as the Messiah of the age.

§ 1. MULLA ABDULLAH, THE MAHDI OF BAYANA

After his death his mantle fell on his disciple, Mulla Abdullah, a Niazi Afghan who was at first a disciple of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpur. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca ; after his return he became a disciple of Mir Sayyid Muhammad and in accordance with the practices of the new cult, fixed up his residence in a secluded place of Bayana. He lived apart, in a humble dwelling beside a tank, mixed only with the poor and lowly of the neighbourhood—hewers of wood and drawers of water, and persuaded them by various means to form with him an assembly for prayer.

The piety and humility of Mulla Abdullah, his association with the poor, drew around him a large number of followers. Miyan Bahwa Luhani, the governor of Bayana, was attracted to the new faith and became his disciple. Accompanied by several hundred followers fully armed, Abdullah moved around Bayana, preached his doctrines and often defied the authority of the king. Preoccupied with the rebellion of Adil Khan, Khawas

Khan and other nobles, Islam Shah had no time to chastise the pretender. In 1548 while he was marching against the Niazis, he halted at Bahrsur (10 kos from Bayana) and at the instigation of Maulana Abdullah, ordered the leader of the new sect to be brought before him. Miyan Bahwa advised him to remain in concealment for a few days. But the proud Shaikh would not listen to the proposal. He started from Bayana and appeared before the king in the morning as the latter was about to march. According to the practice of his faith, the Shaikh saluted the king in the ordinary form of salutation. Thereupon, Miyan Bahwa seized him by the neck and bent his head down. In his hurry Islam Shah ordered him to be kicked and whipped. The king waited there an hour to see him cudgelled and only left the place when the Shaikh appeared to be dead.

After the departure of the king, the friends and followers of the Shaikh found that he had only lost consciousness but was not dead. So they wrapped him up in a raw hide and kept him warm for a whole day and night till he regained consciousness. After this miraculous recovery he set out on a long travel, spending some time in Afghanistan, some time among the Afghans of Pattan in the Punjab, and finally coming to Sirhind where he gave up all connection with the Mahdawi sect. In 1585 A. D. he won the favour of emperor Akbar who granted him a portion of madad-i-mash land in Sirhind. Seven years later, in 1591 A. D. he died.

§ 2. SHAIKH ALAI'S MOVEMENT

A tremendous stir was, however, made by his disciple, Shaikh Alai, son of Shaikh Hasan of Bengal, who, on his return journey from Mecca, had settled down in the province of Bayana. From his early boyhood, Shaikh Alai gave promise of his future eminence ; he became versed in Islamic learning, showed a remarkable intelligence and presence of mind. On the death of his father, he abandoned all worldly connections and by dint of orthodoxy and austerity occupied the position of his father. After attaining the position of a Shaikh the pride and arrogance of Alai increased ; he insulted the other Shaikhs of the neighbourhood and pulled them down from their litters. In his vanity he aspired to the dignity of the Shaikh of Shaikhs.

It was at this time that he came in contact with Mulla Abdullah, and his association with that self-abnegating Mulla effected a profound change in him. The haughty, pompous Shaikh turned into a meek tender-hearted saint. He gave up all his worldly possessions, madad-i-mash and almshouse. He stripped himself of all he had : he cut off all connexion with his wife and asked her either to follow him or to choose her own path, saying to her "the passion of the search after God has seized me, if you can bear poverty and hunger, follow me. If not, take your share of the wealth and choose your own way." Thus bereft of every possession, Alai devoted himself to the care of the poor of his neighbourhood. He then went to Mulla Abdullah and was

initiated by him into the mysteries of the new cult. Thus Alai broke completely with his past, exchanged the blissful solitude of a Shaikh for the busy life of a preacher. Attracted by his eloquence, power of argumentation and religious earnestness, people gathered round him in numbers. The tide of popular enthusiasm overcame all opposition.

§ 3. ALAI'S ORDER

His followers who entered the order followed in his footsteps and cut themselves off from worldly ties. Like the "begging friars" of Europe, they owned neither lands nor money and subsisted on presents made by the people. They divided all their gifts and presents equally among themselves, and when no presents came, they met death from hunger without a murmur. There were also lay members of the order who could engage in occupations but had to spend a tithe of their income in the service of God.

Prayers were held twice daily when the brothers met in congregation and listened to the exposition of the Quran. Alai made such an illuminating exposition that people were moved to their depths and abandoning all entered the order. The members of the order, however, always carried arms with them. Alai attacked the vices and corruptions of the theologians of the time and tried by armed violence to put down the practices not enjoined by the Quran.

After his initiation into the new order, the influence of Alai steadily increased. He began to move about and

preach amongst the people. Once he set out for Gujarat to acquaint himself more thoroughly with the doctrines of this new sect. At Khawaspur, he was received by Khawas Khan who joined his circle but Alai became disgusted with him and returned to Bayana (Nov. 1545 ?). He next started a vigorous propaganda for the spread of the new faith. His public preachings created a great stir and the state theologian Maulana Abdullah Sultanpuri asked Islam Shah to suppress this heresy before it had firmly rooted itself.

§ 4. SHAIKH ALAI AT THE ROYAL COURT

Islam Shah summoned Alai to his presence who appeared before the royal court, accompanied by a number of followers in arms. Like his master Abdullah, he greeted the royal assembly with ordinary form of salutation. Their ragged clothes, severe countenance and disrespectful salutation gave great offence. Makhdum-ul-mulk Mulla Abdullah denounced him as a revolutionary who wanted to establish his dominion. He was a rebel and consequently deserved the extreme penalty of death. Isa Khan Hajib and other noblemen made light of this affair and said that it was absurd to fear that a few Afghans in rags would snatch away the kingdom from them.

Shaikh Alai then gave an eloquent discourse before the royal audience on the vanities of the world, the day of judgment and the failings of the learned men of the day. This speech deeply moved Islam Shah and he ordered refreshments to be brought from the palace for

the Shaikh and his companions. But Alai refused to touch the food because Islam Shah had possessed himself of more than what was due to him by transgressing the laws of Islam. Islam Shah kept quiet and referred the enquiry into the truth of the matter to the decision of the Ulema.

Arrangements were then made for holding a religious discussion. Islam Shah had already summoned the most eminent learned men of the day,—Sayyid Rafiuddin, the traditionist, Miyan Abul Fath of Thaneswar, Maulana Jalal Fahim of Agra and others. In the discussion that took place, Alai defeated all his opponents by the penetration and subtlety of his intellect and made a bitter attack upon the theologians of the day. Even the all-powerful Maulana was not spared; his luxury and worldliness, his indulgence in music and other pastimes, his flattery and cajolery of the king were publicly denounced. "You are one of the learned men of the day and a thief of religion" burst forth the fiery peacher, and "you engage in so many illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of equity so that even to this day, the sound of pipe and tabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house and in accordance with the true traditions of the Prophet, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than the learned men who have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and gad from door to door." (Badauni, Eng. trans. Ranking). This fiery denunciation silenced all, the Maulana uttered not a single word. Mulla Jalal also received a severe

rebuke for his incorrect citation of a verse relating to the appearance of the Mahdi.

Impressed by his eloquence, depth of learning and skill in debate, Islam Shah requested Alai to abandon all pretensions to Mahdship. He promised that the latter would then immediately be made the chief overseer of religion. He also warned him of the sentence of death that had been passed upon him, in case of his failure to recant. But neither cajolery nor threat could move Alai from his purpose. He refused this offer with disdain saying "why should I change my religion at your bidding"?

The presence of Alai in the capital city, his addresses, his denunciation of the priestly impostures cast a spell on many royal officials and they embraced the new faith.

The news of the conversion of the royal officials caused a great flutter ; Bahman and Mulla Abdullah again incited the king to put him to death. Islam Shah was not, however, a blind zealot. He was too much impressed by the intellectual and moral supremacy to order his death. Islam Shah, therefore, ordered him to quit his kingdom and go to the Deccan.

§ 5. ALAI GOES TO THE DECCAN

Thereupon, Alai started for the Deccan ; on his arrival at Handiya,* Bihar Khan, the governor of the place, received him with great cordialty and lodged

* Handiya is on the Narbada in the Hoshangabad district of the Central Provinces, Imp. Gaz. Vol. V. p. 309.

him in his own house. The preachings of the Shaikh made a deep impression on him and he also adopted the new faith. The majority of his army followed suit.

The news of the conversion of Bihar Khan, a prominent general and a relation of the king with his army raised the fear of disturbances in the kingdom. Shaikh Alai was again summoned to Islam Shah. As the learned men of Delhi and Agra had not been able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the signs of the appearance of the Mahdi, Alai was sent to Shaikh Budh of Bihar, one of the distinguished theologians of the time, to get his final opinions.

On his arrival at the Shaikh's house, Alai was shocked to find music, singing and other pastimes forbidden by the laws of Islam. Shaikh Budh became very much impressed with the learning and piety of Alai and wrote to Islam Shah saying "The Mahdawi question is a difficult and complicated one and as there are differences of opinion as to the signs by which the Mahdi is to be distinguished, he cannot be convicted of infidelity" (Badauni, Eng. trans. Ranking p 522). The sons of Shaikh Alai apprehending that their father in his old age might be dragged to Delhi for a final decision on the matter, cancelled the first letter and wrote another letter in which they applauded the decision of Maulana Abdullah Sultanpuri.

With the sealed letter of Budh, Alai went to Islam Shah at Bin. On reading the letter Islam Shah again requested him to abjure his opinions. Alai again refused, whereupon Islam Shah ordered a few stripes

to be inflicted on him. The Shaikh was at the time afflicted with a mortal disease which had broken out all over Hindustan in that year* (1550 A. D.). Moreover, the long journey had left him completely exhausted so that at the third lash the Shaikh breathed his last†.

With the death of Alai, his movement collapsed. Nevertheless, the movement is of great significance in the history of India. It was a most ardent attempt to purge Islam of the impurities and corrupt practices that had crept into it. Like the "Men of New Learning" Colet and Erasmus, Alai seems to have attempted not a reform in the doctrines of Islam, but a regeneration of Islam before which the superstitions and corrupt practices should fade away. He called attention to the abuses of the Islamic clergy and demanded a reform in their morals. He went boldly farther than this; he attacked the unholy subservience of the church to the state.

Alai thus not merely denounced the corrupt practices of Islam but denied what was then regarded as the

* Alai had a wound in his neck which had to be kept open by a plug of cloth—Badauni, Ranking Eng. tran. p. 524.

† It is said that after his death his body too was tied to the feet of an elephant and trampled to pieces and his corpse was forbidden to be buried. At that very moment a violent whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence that people thought that the last day had arrived. Great lamentation and mourning was heard throughout the whole camp and men were in expectation of the early downfall of the power of Islam Shah. In course of night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was practically entombed in flower. (ibid)

sacrosanct power of the king to seize lands and wealth. It was thus for the first time that an attempt was made to dissociate religion from its unnatural alliance with kingship and to make it a beneficent instrument for securing justice and charity to all.

CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATION OF ISLAM SHAH AND HIS PLACE IN HISTORY

It is generally believed that the kingdom and the administrative system built up by the genius of Sher Shah broke down after his death. In the previous pages we have seen that Islam Shah not only succeeded in holding his own but pushed forward the frontiers of his kingdom over far distances in the east and west. The mountainous region to the north of the Punjab and Eastern Bengal came under his sway, while the kingdom of Kashmir was reduced to vassalage. His empire, therefore, stretched from the Indus on the west to the hills of Assam on the east, and from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhya in the south.

Islam Shah has not gone down in history as a conqueror of many exploits but he is still an interesting personality. He is one of those tragic solitary figures

* Read in a meeting of the Historical Association of the Dacca University.

who have not received adequate recognition ; the towering figure of his father looming large across the lapse of centuries has completely overshadowed his son and successor.

He ruled only for a period of nine years ; the whole of this period was spent either in continual fighting with Adil, Khawas, Haibat and Shujaet Khan or in a preparation for war with the Mughals. After he had restored order within his borders, he had to guard against external dangers. So all thoughts of far-reaching conquests, if he had any, had to be laid aside. Though circumstances were not favourable for an aggressive policy, there can be no doubt that he ruled his dominions with greater authority and power.

§ 1. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Sher Shah had introduced the system of ruling the country by means of a hierarchy of officials. This system was continued by Islam Shah, who struck hard at the nobility and reduced them to impotence.

The Muhammadan historians who have left accounts of this ruler have been very severe towards him on account of his ruthless policy towards the nobility. In their dislike for cruelty they forgot that the suppression of the nobility was an imperative necessity for the well-being of the state. The nobility never troubled itself for the welfare of the kingdom. They threw the whole country into confusion and disorder and fleeced its peasantry.

Islam Shah set about his task with a will and great thoroughness. Like the great Cardinal of France, he put many of these defiant nobles to death, flung others to prison and effectively hewed down the rest who were spared. He took away all the elephants of the nobility and left them each in possession of only a wretched female elephant fit for carrying baggage. There is little room for doubt that the measures by which the noblemen were deprived of male elephants was solely political in character, designed to destroy their fighting strength. He issued another edict by which Patars (dancing girls) were forcibly taken away from those noblemen who kept Akharas.* Sultan Alauddin Khalji forbade the gathering of the nobility in order to prevent sedition. Islam Shah, cultured and accomplished as he was, did not forbid the social intercourse but restricted the frequent gatherings. With the exclusion of dancing girls, the social assemblies became dull and cheerless. It was under the intoxication of wine that plots were often hatched. So the forcible seizure of the dancing girls tended to restrict social intercourse among the nobility and consequently to prevent seditious plots

* Akharas — A. N. Vol. III P 258 — The Akhara is an entertainment held at night by the nobles of the country. Four pretty women lead off a dance and some graceful movements are executed, four others are employed to sing while more accompany them with cymbals. Two play the pakhwaj, two the upang, while the Deccan rabab, the vina and yantra are each taken up by one player. Besides the usual lamps of the entertainment, two women holding lamps stand near the circle of performers. It was a sort of carnival in which the women danced, sang and delighted the audience.

among them. By another of his decrees he forbade the use of red tents by the nobility which were now confined exclusively to royal use. These measures stripped the noblemen of the trappings of royalty and nipped their ambition in the bud.

It is a significant fact that during the reign of Islam Shah durbars were held in the different parts of his dominions on every friday in which the regulations drawn up by that monarch were solemnly proclaimed. A lofty tent was set up on eight poles, a quiver and the shoes of Islam Shah were placed in front of the throne. This durbar was attended by the amirs of five, ten and twelve thousand and other important officials of the state who, with bowed heads and all proper ceremony, took their seats in the appointed place. In course of that durbar the law and ordinances of Islam Shah were read aloud by a secretary and all points at issue were decided with direct reference to them only which made up the laws of the land. If any body offended against the majesty of the laws, he was reported and visited in due course with proper punishment.

At the outset it might seem absurd that the Afghan nobility, proud and haughty, would salute the shoes of Islam Shah but Badauni removes all doubt by saying that in his early years he went to Bajwara with the army of Farid Taran, commander of five thousand and had himself witnessed the strange ceremony. And it was not an extraordinary durbar convened on a special occasion ; for Badauni states that this procedure continued to the end of the reign of Islam Shah.

None among the early sultans of Delhi had been so kingly as Islam Shah was. His father had no doubt, assumed the title of sultan but he had never played the king. It was under Islam Shah that the leadership exercised by his father was transformed into kingship.

§ 2. ARMY REFORM

After his accession, Islam Shah reviewed the rules of his father, retained some of them as they were and issued new regulations of his own.* He continued the madad-i-Mash and aima-grants, rest houses and gardens† established by his father but cancelled all laws relating to the grant of jaigirs. He resumed all the jaigirs and gave their holders stipend in money ; on the other hand those who enjoyed pensions received jaigirs.‡ He kept in tact the military reforms introduced

* Elliott's translation is not correct here Elliot Vol. IV p. 499 says he left some of them as they were and changed others to suit his ideas

"The original Persian is" بمغی بهال خود داشت و در بمغی
تغیر داده ضابطها از خود بهم رسانیده

† Badauni's word is باغها — Gardens.

Banking translates it as pleasure-gardens.

‡ The decess of Islam Shah by which land grants were converted into money-pensions and money-pensions into land grants are stigmatised by Sir H. M. Elliot to be silly and nonsensical devised chiefly with the object of reversing his father's policy and establishing a name for himself as a legislator. Sir H. M. Elliot seems to be rash in his conclusions. It appears that Islam Shah was actuated by a political motive in depriving some of their jaigirs and entrusting others with these jaigirs.

by Sher Shah and improved here and there. He garrisoned the entire country from Bengal to the Punjab with troops. In this he had followed in his father's footsteps who had posted troops in different parts of the country to keep down the refractory and the recalcitrant. He also maintained the dagh system—the system of branding the horses begun by his father. Like his father, he paid the soldiery in cash but also assigned certain mahals to the commanders of fifty, two hundred, two hundred and fifty and five hundred for their subsistence.

He introduced greater order and organisation into the administration of the army by dividing it into troops and cohorts. He formed bodies of fifty, two hundred, two hundred and fifty and five hundred ; to every fifty, a Persian-knowing and a Hindi-knowing writer were appointed (T. D. Ms. p. 140, W. M.) He had also larger division of soldiers into five, ten and twenty thousand men into each of which he allotted one sardar, one Afghan munsiff, one Hindustani judge and two eunuchs of the palace. Islam Shah thus introduced the graded system into the army which was finally developed into the mansabdar system.

§ 3. A CODE OF LAWS

The most important change in the administrative system was brought about by the promulgation of a

After his accession Islam Shah had to face the hostility of Sher Shahi noblemen. He therefore weakened them by taking away their jagirs ; on the other hand he strengthened himself by distributing these jagirs amongst his followers who enjoyed pensions.

comprehensive body of laws which covered eighty sheets of paper, bearing upon all important points of religious and political questions and all matters relating to the soldiery, the merchants and other classes of the population. These laws were sent to every sarkar and the local authorities were enjoined to act upon them, even if they were in conflict with the principles of canon law. This measure not only introduced the reign of a common law but also completed the bureaucracy by depriving the chief shiqdars of the freedom of action that they formerly possessed. In fact, this measure of Islam Shah which was of a piece with his policy of royal absolutism, marked out a new epoch in kingcraft.

§ 4. SARAIS

In works of public utility, Islam Shah was not less zealous than his father. Sher Shah had established sarais at the distance of two miles. Islam Shah gave orders by which another sarai was established between the two sarais of Sher Shah so that there was a sarai at every mile. These sarais served not merely as halting places for the travellers but they were so many links connecting the different parts of the kingdom. In these sarais food both raw and cooked was kept ready for the use of Hindu and Muhammadan travellers. For the convenience of the travellers, these sarais had also attached to them a mosque, a reservior of water, perfumed with rose (W. M.). He also appointed ?

Imam, a Muejjin and a Farrash in every mosque attached to the sarais.*

These sarais were also the stations of dak chauki. Two horses were kept ready in every sarai for the quick transmission of news. This system worked most efficiently during his reign. Wherever Islam Shah happened to be from the Punjab to Sonargaon, one turban of Sonargaon and one fresh melon from the Punjab used to reach him every day.

He followed in his father's broadminded policy towards the Hindus. He continued the separate arrangements made for them at the sarais and employed them in the army. Himu, the shopkeeper, owed the beginning of his greatness to him.

Islam Shah's severity towards the nobles was a part of his policy but he was very kind towards the peasants. He made strenuous efforts to improve the lot of the ryots (M. A., A. N. & Masir-i-Rahimi†). He distributed

* Ranking makes mistakes in translating certain words مسجد retranslates as temple, مقری a dwelling place سقا به conduit. W. M. says

در سراے طعامهاے الوان تعین فرمود تا از آئنده و رونده
چه درویش و چه غنی ازان طعامها بهرور و محفوظ میشدند
چه از هندو و چه مسلمان و آبدار خالها بنا فرموده بود
آنها سرد گلاب زده مهیا میداشتند و در در سرا مسجدے امام
و موزی و فراش تعین بود *

† Masiri-Rahimi says * با رعیت حسن تعلق می نمودند *

Abul Fazl also says he dealt equitably with the peasantry but treated the soldiers very harshly.

alms in sarais, maintained free kitchen for the poor in the camp. The muqaddams used to protect the villagers and wayfarers within their jurisdiction on pain of penalty of death.

§ 5. BUILDINGS

Islam Shah transferred his capital to Gwalior which must have been adorned with edifices and palaces. In addition to the founding of Gwalior, he erected the fortress of Salimgarh in Delhi and another fortification round Delhi city but the fortress of mankot, built at a huge cost of men and money, was the most marvellous feat of architecture of the period.

CHARACTER OF ISLAM SHAH AND HIS PLACE IN HISTORY

Character

An Afghan by blood, Islam Shah inherited the fierce wrath as well as the tenderness of his race ; often pitiless and brutal, he was at other times merciful and generous. The ruthless extermination of the disloyal noblemen, the outrage on the Niazi women and the treacherous murder of Khawas Khan show that under violent passion he could perpetrate even fiendish acts but he was not void of the divine quality of mercy and forgiveness. He granted pardon to Shujaet and Iqbal Khan, even after the latter's attempt on his life. He listened to the importunities of his wife Bibi Rabiya to spare the life of her brother Mubariz Khan. In him was found a mixture of opposites—nobility and

meanness, compassion and cruelty. In the doggedness of determination and promptitude of action he yielded to none and in fact, it is these qualities combined with his military abilities that gave him victory over formidable opponents. Afflicted by a fatal disease, he took off the leech from his throat and mounted his horse as soon as the news of Humayun's invasion reached his ears. Against tremendous difficulties the war against the Niazis was carried to the finish.

He was not, however, a typical Afghan warrior who delighted in war and the pleasures of the chase. On the contrary, he was one of the most gifted and cultured sovereigns of Medieval India. Niamatullah in enumerating the traits of Islam Shah says that he was wise, accomplished, learned, possessed of sound judgment far-sighted, Godfearing and the protector of his subjects. He memorised the Gulistan and Bustan of Sadi and very often recited the poetry of Hafez. Strange stories, fables and verses of the bye-gone poets were recited in his assembly. He took delight in composing verses ; if any verse was cited, he could easily complement extempore with another verse. He had acquired knowledge of the fundamental points of canon law from Makhdum-ulmulk, attended and took part in theological discussions.

Though he followed an enlightened public policy in a bigoted age, he did not attempt to introduce the least innovation in matters of religion during the period of his rule. He was extremely orthodox in private life, he never missed any public prayer, was so abstemious

in private life that he never touched any intoxicant, not even jauz. He had a reverence for holy men. Shaikh Salim chishti of Fathpur and Hafez Nizam of Budaun were his Imams. While he was a prince, he used to lift the shoes of Shaikh Shah Mahmud of Delhi who had come to Hindustan from Iraq during the reign of Sher Shah and had claimed to be a Sayyid.

And he was not a typical Afghan with only a thin veneer of culture. He was extremely polished, there was no body who could equal him in witticism and humour. He was so clean and dainty that at the time of taking food, no body saw his fingers greased.

He displayed the most praiseworthy efforts in good works and charity. Alms giving at sarais and free kitchen in the royal camp testify to his solicitude for the poor. Endowed with all these qualities Islam Shah was supremely gifted to play the role of king. His illustrious father Sher Shah, with all his great gifts, had been merely the leader of the Afghan chiefs, many of whom like Haibat Khan and Shujaet Khan had exercised almost royal power within their domains during the life time of Sher Shah. It was Islam Shah who broke down the power of the territorial lords. The might and majesty of the Sultan was only matched by pomp and pageantry. As Niamatullah says, wherever Islam Shah happened to be, tents were pitched in all directions, so that people might feel the splendour of his majesty.

Under Islam Shahs kingship lost its feudal traits and became essentially modern. The provincial chiefs shorn

their power, became the courtiers of the Sultan of Delhi. The learned scholars of the day resorted to the court. The King, says Niamatullah, delighted in the company of the learned, accomplished, theologians and piousmen. Shaikh Abul Hossain, son of Shaikh Gadaikambu, Miyan Hatem Sambali, Miyan Jamal Khan Mufti, Mir Sayyid Rafiuddin, Miyan Abul Fath of Thaneswar, Maulana Jalal Fahim of Agra and Niamat Rasuli were the chief scholars who adorned his court and with whom he held frequent discussion. The chief theologian of the time was Maulana Abdullah of Sultanpur. Islam Shah distinguished him with the title of Makhdumul mulk and held him in great veneration. His beneficence towards the learned was unlimited. It is said by Badauni that on one occasion, seeing the Maulana coming towards him, Islam Shah rose from his seat and requested him to take his seat on the throne. The Sultan then bestowed on him a rosary of pearls valued at twenty thousand rupees. Music also flourished during the period. Ramdas, one of the most noted musicians in Akbar's reign, Mubariz Khan (Adil Shah), the most noted musician of his time, lived in his reign.

Served by a body of officials, armed with a code of laws uniformly operating throughout his kingdom, attended by men of intellect and wisdom, culture and refinement, Islam Shah set the pattern for a new type of kingship which reached its culmination in the brilliant personality of Akbar. A great warrior, an able administrator, an enlightened and essentially modern king, his is a little known figure that ought to attract the attention of new India that is in the making.

CHAPTER VIII

FIRUZ SHAH ; ADIL SHAH AND THE CONTEST FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF HINDUSTAN AMONG ADIL AND IBRAHIM, IBRAHIM AND SIKANDAR, SIKANDAR AND HUMAYUN

After the death of Islam Shah Oct. ³⁰1553 A. D., his son Firuz, a boy of twelve, came to the throne but was murdered in a few days by Mubariz Khan, son of Nizam Khan Sur, brother of Sher Shah. Mubariz ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Adil Shah.

§ 1. MUHAMMAD ADIL SHAH

After his accession Adil Shah sought to conciliate the noblemen by a lavish distribution of wealth. He prepared arrows tipped with gold valued at five hundred rupees and shot them at random from bows. Whoever brought back the arrow before the king, could change it for the sum of five hundred rupees.

Adil made Shamsheer Khan, brother of Khawas Khan, his vizier and Daulat Khan Lohani, his vakil. He reposed great confidence in Himu and entrusted him with general supervision over the affairs of the state. He wanted to enlist the support of a party of noblemen by redistributing jagirs among them. With this object in view, he summoned a durbar in the fort of Gwalior,

where he transferred the sarkar of Kanauj from Shah Muhammad Farmuli to Sarmast Khan Sarwani. The Farmulis felt themselves disgraced and Sikandar, the hot-headed son of Shah Muhammad Farmuli, publicly abused Sarmast Khan in the durbar. The latter kept his head, came close to Sikandar and placed his hands upon his shoulders. Scenting mischief, Sikander cut Sarmast Khan down. Sikandar ran amuck in the hall, killing all he could lay his hands upon. Adil himself fled into the inner apartment and thus saved himself. At length, Sikandar was slain by Ibrahim Khan Sur and order was restored.

The riotous disorder in the durbar hall was a sign of the weakness of the government and proved the signal for the rising of the provincial chiefs. The clannish spirit of the Afghans awoke and the country presented a scene of rapine and plunder. One of the first to rebel was Taj Khan Karrani who had fled from Gwalior on the very day of the disturbance in the audience hall. Ahmad Khân Sur, the governor of the Punjab, raised the standard of rebellion ; Shujaet Khan asserted his power and recovered Malwa. Thus, within a few months after the death of Islam Shah, rebellion was rampant in the land.

Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana says that by his insolence Taj Khan drove many noblemen into rebellion who conspired against him and sent them off to Malwa. As this is not corroborated by any historian, it is difficult to accept the version of Ahmad Yadgar, full of contradictions and mistakes. Adil is popularly called Adili.

§ 2. REBELLION OF TAJ KHAN KARRANI 1553-4 A. D.

Adil Shah personally undertook the conduct of the campaign against Taj Khan. The rebel was hotly pursued and defeated at Chhibramau, in the district of Farrukhabad, 30 kos distant from Kanauj. (Riyayus-Salatin p. 150) Adil committed a fatal blunder in returning to Gwalior after his victory at Chhibramau, without completely crushing Taj Khan. He kept the sore open by allowing Taj Khan to flee unmolested. His lack of vigour and martial spirit cost him his heritage. Taj Khan set out to join his brothers Imad, Sulaiman and Khawaja Ilyas, the governor of Khawaspur Tanda and certain other parganahs on the banks of the Ganges, plundering rich booty and seizing all the officials on his way. After uniting with his brothers, he raised his head again. On hearing this Adil Shah was compelled to march to Chunar to stamp out this rising. Adil reached the bank of the Ganges. The two armies remained encamped on opposite sides of the river. Himu was entrusted with the command of the army. He crossed the river with a hundred elephants, engaged the rebel Afghans and won a victory. Taj Khan and his brothers fled to Bengal.

§ 3. REBELLION OF IBRAHIM KHAN SUR, AHMAD KHAN SUR, MAHMUD KHAN SUR AND OTHER SMALLER CHIEFS

Adil Shah next sought to remove another obstacle in his path by arresting his brother-in-law, Ibrahim Khan Sur, the son of Ghazi Khan Sur. Adil Shah's sister got wind of the evil designs of her brother, put her

husband on his guard and helped him to escape from the fort of Chunar by leading him out through a secret passage.

Ibrahim Khan set off for Bayana his father's jaigir. Adil was thus called upon to deal with Ibrahim Khan before he could crush the Karranis. Isa Khan Niazi was despatched against Ibrahim but in the neighbourhood of Kalpi, the royal forces were put to complete rout with heavy losses. Flushed with this victory, Ibrahim marched to Delhi and occupied it. He caused the khutba to be read in his name and proclaimed himself sovereign. Adil had now raised powerful enemies by his imprudence and violence. The single defeat at Kalpi largely took away all the prestige gained by his two earlier victories over Taj Khan.

When Adil Shah reached the Jumna on his way towards Delhi, Ibrahim Khan offered to submit to Adil Shah. He, however, demanded a solemn assurance of safety from eminent noblemen like Rai Husain Julwani and others. Adil readily agreed to this proposal and sent the noblemen to Ibrahim to reassure him. When they went to the camp of Ibrahim, the latter easily won them over. The defection of his noblemen left Adil helpless and he was compelled to retreat to Chunar leaving Delhi and Agra in the hands of the usurper (Badauni, Ranking, Eng. trans. p. 541, Dorn p. 174).

Meanwhile, another claimant for the sovereignty of Hindustan arose in the Punjab. This was Ahmad Khan Sur, the governor of that province, brother-in-law of Adil (husband of Adil's sister). Taking advantage of

the discord that followed the accession of Adil Shah, he too made a bid for sovereignty and assumed the title of Sikandar Shah.

About this time Muhammad Khan Sur, the governor of Bengal, threw off his allegiance to the sultan of Delhi and assumed the title of Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah Ghazi. Northern India thus became divided into four principal kingdoms under independent chiefs—Sultan Sikander in the Punjab, Ibrahim in Delhi and Agra, Adil in Chunar, Muhammad Shah in Bengal—each contending with the other for the lordship of Northern India. The disorder of the time stirred the ambition of smaller chieftains like Ghazi Khan Sur, governor of Bayana, Haji Khan of Alwar, Miyan Yahya Turan of Sambhal each of whom sought to carve out a kingdom for himself.

§ 4. FIGHT BETWEEN SULTAN SIKANDAR AND SULTAN IBRAHIM, 1554 A. D.

Soon after Ibrahim Khan had seated himself on the throne of Delhi, Sultan Sikandar started with an army, ten thousand strong, from the Punjab to seize Delhi and Agra. To enlist the whole-hearted support of the Afghan chiefs, Ibrahim bestowed special marks of distinction on them, which included royal tents and standards. He gathered round himself a motley army of eighty thousand men and took his stand against the advancing enemy at Farah (ten kos north of Agra).*

Sultan Sikandar was dismayed at the sight of this vast army and opened negotiations for peace. He proposed that he would be content to hold the Punjab, leaving the rest of Hindustan to Ibrahim Khan. His brothers Kalapahar and Panj Bhaya (five brothers) made a further stipulation that if Ibrahim seized the treasures of Delhi and Agra, he would share them with Sikandar. These terms were at first accepted by both sides; peace was in sight, but warlike counsels gained the upper hand in Ibrahim's camp. Men like Husain Khan Ghilzai, Masud Khan who scorned half measures held out for a fight to a finish. They relied on their immensely superior numbers and defeated the negotiations for peace (Badauni, Ranking p. 544).*

§ 5. BATTLE OF FARAH 1555 A. D.

Ibrahim placed the vanguard of his army in charge of Miyan Yahya Turan, the foremost warrior of the time. The right wing was entrusted to Rai Husain Julwani, who had under him the fierce Ghilzais, the left wing to Haji Khan Alwari, while Ibrahim himself took his position on a low ground in the centre. The battle was obstinate. Rai Husain Julwani broke the left wing of Sikandar and drove them away to Hodal and Palwal† but the left wing of Ibrahim's army was routed by Panj Bhaya who, after plundering Ibrahim's camp, proceeded

* They urged Ibrahim to fight saying "To agree to peace will be a confession of our weakness and the admission of the bravery of our enemies"—Badauni p. 544.

† Hodal & Palwal—in the Gurgaon district of the Punjab.

to Agra. Miyan Yahya Turan who led the vanguard was wounded and fled towards Sambhal with the loss of two fingers when the rout of his troops was complete. Ibrahim himself fled to Etawah (70 miles S. E. of Agra). Sikandar pursued him as far as Etawah and then turned his arms against Adil.

§ 6. HUMAYUN'S INVASION OF INDIA, 1555 A. D. AND FIGHT WITH SIKANDAR SHAH.

This discord and disunion among the Afghan chiefs was the opportunity of Humayun who started on the campaign for the reconquest of India. Starting from Kabul in Nov. 1554, he reached Peshwar towards the end of December and crossed the Indus in the beginning of January, 1555. Tatar Khan Kashi who had been left by Sikandar in charge of the fortress of Rohtas, evacuated it on the advance of the Mughal army and Humayun won back the city of Lahore (Feb. 24, 1555) without much opposition.

During these two months when the steady advance of the Mughals had brought the country as far as Lahore under their subjugation, Sultan Sikandar and Ibrahim had been fighting with each other. The Afghans therefore, could offer no effective resistance. As the Mughal army pushed on towards Delhi after the conquest of Lahore, the Afghan chiefs began at last to make a stand. Shahabaz Khan took post at Dipalpur (Montgomery district of the Punjab) with twelve thousand men (Jauhar, p. 166). In the engagement he unhorsed the Mughal general in a headlong attack. The fortunes of

war wavered ; just at this time a Mughal soldier rushed violently on Shahabaz Khan who fell down from the horse. The Afghans, thinking their leader dead, fled in a panic and the Mughals won the victory (A. N. Vol. I. p. 624). Next, the Afghan chief Nasib Khan offered resistance to the advancing enemy at Hariana (an important town in the Shikarpur district) but was defeated. The Mughals rushed forward to Jalandhar.

§ 7. BATTLES OF MACHIWARA—1555, A. D. APRIL-MAY AND SIRHIND, JUNE 1555 A. D.

These successive defeats of the Afghan chiefs compelled Sikandar to send a large army under his ablest generals Tatar Khan Kashi, Habib Khan, Mubarak Khan and Nasib Khan. They sighted the Mughal army at Machiwar. The battle began at dusk and continued after night-fall ; the Afghans held the ground but were overpowered in the end by a galling archery attack. They retreated to a village with a view to fall upon the Mughals again (A. N.) and set fire to a few thatches to light up the darkness of the night. The fire rapidly spread and set the whole village in flames. This was the opportunity of the Mughals. They now caught a view of the Afghans and riddled them with arrows from a distance.

To retrieve this disaster, Sikandar personally marched to Sirhind with a numerous army of eighty thousand men consisting of cavalry, infantry, elephants and a park of artillery. Here he encamped, dug a trench around the camp and awaited the attack of the Mughal

army. There was great consternation in the Mughal camp. Humayun had to march from Lahore to Sirhind.

The two armies remained facing each other for a long time. Before the battle began, petty skirmishes took place between the brave men on both sides. As the Afghans did not stir out, the Mughals now attempted to wear out the enemy by cutting off supplies. Terdi Beg Khan was accordingly told off to intercept the enemy's supplies with his small detachment. He fell in with a brother of Sikandar who was defeated and slain. (Jauhar p. 170). When nearly a month had passed by, the battle was opened by a charge of Kalapahar, brother of Sikandar (22nd June, 1555). Sultan Sikandar hurled his army on the wing commanded by Bairam Khan, who had thrown up an entrenchment in front. When the Afghans pressed down in all their strength on the wing led by Bairam, Terdi Beg Khan and Shah Abu-l-Maali the Mughal commanders of the other wing made a wheeling movement and surrounded the Afghan army in the rear, annihilating it. A furious storm which broke out enabled only a few survivors to make their escape good. Sikandar himself fled to the skirts of the hills of the Punjab. Humayun made a dash upon Delhi.

§ 8. IBRAHIM'S RENEWED STRUGGLE WITH ADIL SHAH, SEPT. 1554-55, A. D. ?

When Sikandar was absorbed in opposing Humayun, Adil Shah saw his opportunity and sent his general Himu with a large army against Delhi and Agra. He marched rapidly as far as Kalpi where he encountered

Ibrahim Khan Sur. Ambitious and adventurous, this Ibrahim had not given up hopes of carving out a kingdom for himself even after his signal defeat at Farah. He had collected an army of only three thousand men. As he was marching against Adil, he met Himu at Kalpi. Ibrahim took up a strong position and fought bravely but was defeated and fled to Bayana (his father's jaagir) pursued by Himu.

Not daunted by defeats, Ibrahim raised a new force from among the Lohanis, Afghan cultivators and landholders of Bayana and again offered battle in the vicinity of Kanwah but he was again defeated. Ibrahim now took shelter in the strong fortress of Bayana. Himu laid siege to it, placed batteries and made repeated assaults on the fortress. The defenders bravely maintained themselves and resisted all the efforts of the enemy. Himu laid the whole country around waste to starve the garrison into surrender, but Ghazi Khan, father of Ibrahim, continued to provide them with supplies by the mountain passes to the west of Bayana.

The siege of Bayana dragged on for three months ; meanwhile, taking advantage of Himu's absence there, Muhammad Khan Sur who had crowned himself in Bengal under the title of Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah, marched with a large army for the conquest of Delhi and Agra. He reduced the country as far as Jaunpur and advanced rapidly towards Kalpi. Himu, urgently recalled to his master's defence, abandoned the siege of Bayana and hurried towards Kalpi.

§ 9. THE TRAGIC END OF IBRAHIM

As soon as Himu raised the siege, Ibrahim came out of Bayana and collecting a number of followers fell upon him at Mundagar. Worsted again, he went to Alwar, obtained reinforcements from Haji Khan, the ruler of that place and started again to overtake Himu. Beaten again by Naharpal (Himu's nephew), he returned to Haji Khan. The latter set his face against him on account of these successive reverses. Disappointed, Ibrahim bade adieu to his relations and started for Panna with a small following. The magic of his name raised followers in increasing numbers. With them he again tried his fortune against Raja Ramchand, the ruler of Panna, but was taken prisoner. The Raja treated him with great honour. After sometime he received the invitation of the Miyana Afghans to help them against Baz Bahadur, the ruler of Malwa. The Miyana Afghans placed him at the head of their army and Rani Durgavati of Gadha-mandala promised him her assistance. Fortune seemed to smile again on Ibrahim who once more raised his standard and proceeded against Baz Bahadur. At this juncture, the Rani withdrew her support and Ibrahim finding it unsafe to stay there, went to Orissa. There he found shelter with the Raja of Jagannath who assigned to him a tract of that country for his subsistence. While living under the protection of the Raja, he formed the project of conquering Bengal but he fell a victim to the treachery of Sulaiman Karrani, ruler of Bengal and was assassinated in 1567 A. D.

Thus ended miserably the career of one of the boldest chieftains of the Sur dynasty. Graceful in appearance, possessed of refinement, he was a typical knight-errant who delighted in war. Fighting more than a dozen losing battles in the short space of two years (1554-5), he yet did not lose faith in his star. Daring but not far-seeing, ambitious but not cautious, Sultan Ibrahim was a notable figure of the Sur dynasty.

§ 10. BATTLE OF CHHAPPARGHATTA, 1555 A. D. Dec. ?

Contest between Adil and Muhammad Shah

After raising the siege of Bayana, Himu, by forced marches, joined his master at Kalpi and then moved against Muhammad Shah. The two armies came upon each other at Chhapparghatta, twenty miles from Kalpi where they remained facing each other on two sides of the Ganges for a long time. One night Himu crossed the Ganges unawares and swooped suddenly down upon the army of Bengal. The surprise was complete; the army of Bengal, seized with utter panic and confusion, fled away, their king and the greater part of their nobility being slain. After this victory, Adil appointed Shahabaz Khan governor of Bengal and returned to Chunar.

§ 11. CONDITION OF HINDUSTAN 1555 A. D.

Rise of Military Adventurers, Famine and fire

During this turmoil and unrest, military adventurers arose in different parts of the country. Notorious among them was Qambar Diwana, a private in Humayun's

army. After Humayun's victory at Sirhind, this man collected a number of followers by promises of pay and plunder and made himself master of Sambhal. From Sambhal, he carried on his raid to Budaun, thence to Kanta-gola (modern Shahajanpur). But his predatory raids were checked by Rukn Khan Afghan who defeated him in an irregular fighting. Beaten there, Qambar returned to Budaun where he inflicted great hardship and suffering on the people "taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another".

The violence and rapacity of the predatory chiefs combined with the marching and counter-marching of troops across the country produced their natural consequences. A famine broke out which was especially severe in Delhi and Agra. On account of violence and anarchy, lands could not be tilled; to make matters worse, the rainfall was insufficient in that year. Hence food stuffs became very scarce. One seer of jawari grain first sold at a rupee, and then was not at all available. People lived on the seeds of the mughlian thorn, on wild herbs and roots and on the skins of the oxen which were slaughtered by the rich. Matters came to such a pass that man ate his fellow-man. Pestilence broke out and wrought havoc among the people. Rich and poor alike fell victims to a fatal disease; their hands and legs swelled and they died like flies. The country was depopulated, the peasantry disappeared and lawless crowds attacked the cities of the Muslims. On the top of this unspeakable misery, there occurred an explosion in the fort of Agra. One day after Adil

Khan had evacuated it, the officers of Ghazi Khan Sur, the father of Sultan Ibrahim, were superintending the fortress ; by chance, a spark of fire fell into the gunpowder store. Immediately there was a terrible explosion ; the whole city was shaken to its foundations. Slabs of stones and massive pillars were thrown across the Jumna and large numbers of people were killed. (Ranking, p. 550).

The year 962 A. H. (1554-5 A. D.) is an eventful year in Indian history. The battles of Farah, Machiwara, Sirhind, Kalpi, Kanwah, Chhapparghatta—were all crowded within the brief space of twelve months ; kingdoms changed hands, kings vanished like bubbles. Ibrahim retired to oblivion, Sikandar retreated to the hills of the Punjab, while Muhammad Shah repaired to the eternal resting-place. There now remained only two powerful combatants on the scene—Humayun and Adil Shah and the contest for the sceptre of India now resolved into a duel between them.

CHAPTER IX

STRUGGLE BETWEEN HUMAYUN AND THE AFGHAN CHIEFS, RECONQUEST OF DELHI & AGRA BY HIMU & THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT

§ 1. DEATH OF HUMAYUN AND RENEWED AFGHAN RESISTANCE

Towards the end of 1555 A. D., Humayun was on the recovered throne of Delhi, but his position was precarious. His authority did not extend beyond the environs of the capital in addition to the Punjab. His generals encountered severe resistance from the Afghan chiefs as they tried to subjugate the neighbouring regions. Rukn Khan offered a determined resistance at Hissar but was defeated. He shut himself up in the fortress but when reduced to sore straits, he surrendered the fortress into the hands of the Mughal army and entered the Mughal service. In Bayana, Ghazi Khan Sur (father of Ibrahim) put up a stout fight but was defeated and treacherously slain by the Mughal general Haidar Muhammad Khan.

The successive victories won by the Mughal army quelled the Afghan rising for a time, but they were not reconciled to the Mughal regime. So when Humayun died only three months after the occupation of Delhi and Agra (Friday Jan. 26, 1556), they again raised their standard. Haji Khan, governor of Alwar, besieged

the Mughal jaigirdar at Narnol and reduced the garrison. Sikander descended on the plains from his mountain retreat, while Shadi Khan who held many parganahs in Sambhal rose in rebellion and routed the Mughal force that had been despatched against him.

This was the moment for Himu to strike at the Mughals and drive them out of India, but he was kept back at this supreme moment by the disconcerting movements of Khizir Khan, son of Muhammad Khan Sur and by the intrigues of Taj Khan and his brother Sulaiman in south Bihar.

The death of Muhammad Shah and the recognition of Shahbaz Khan, as the governor of Bengal, after the battle of Chhapparghatta had not restored tranquillity in the eastern provinces. His son Khizir Khan had collected the remnants of his army and set himself up at Jhunsi (opposite Allahabad on the other side of the Ganges) as the independent ruler of Bengal. The precipitate march of Himu against Ibrahim after the battle on the bank of the Ganges, had left the Karranis independent in south Bihar. Sulaiman, chief of Bihar, had sent a letter to Humayun after the conquest of Delhi, expressing friendship and cordiality as a counterpoise to Adil Shah's growing power (Riyayus p. 152).

§ 2. HIMU'S EXPEDITION AND CONQUEST OF DELHI, OCT. 1556 A. D.

The hostile movements of Khizir Khan and Sulaiman probably delayed the march of Himu, who started on his expedition nearly six months after the death of

Humayun.* With an army of fifty thousand horse, one thousand elephants, fifty one cannon and five hundred falconets, he swept all opposition aside. The Mughal governor Abdullah Uzbeg Khan at Kalpi and Sikandar Khan Uzbeg at Agra, fled before the mighty host and on the 6th of October, 1556 A. D. Himu arrived with his forces near Tughluqabad. The fame of his generalship and the terror of his army had caused a great consternation in the Mughal army. Terdi Beg Khan, the governor of Delhi, summoned the Mughal commanders of the neighbourhood to his aid. Akbar sent an encouraging message to cheer up their drooping spirits.

When all the chiefs Haidar Muhammad Khan, Qiya Khan gong, Sikandar Khan assembled, war was decided upon after an animated debate ; the Mughal army was drawn up on the field of battle. Its centre was commanded by Terdi Beg Khan and his lieutenants, the left wing by Sikandar Khan, † the right wing by Haidar Muhammad Khan. The left wing of the Mughal army broke and utterly routed the right wing of Himu's army by furious charges. Rai Husain Julwani was slain and more than three thousand of the Afghan army was

* Nizamuddin says that Sikandar commanded the right wing. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*.

† Firishta says that Adil could not accompany Himu as he had to remain in chunar an account of the hostility of the Afghan chiefs.

خود بظاہر مخالفت انھالان لاجار از چنار دور شدن نمی توانست -

Firishta, Newal Kishore Press p. 285.

killed. The victory was apparently secure. Flushed with success, the Mughals turned to plunder, when suddenly Himu who had been keeping at a distance with a chosen body of warriors fell suddenly upon the centre of the Mughal army. Just at this critical hour, Haji Khan of Alwar arrived with his own contingent and decided the battle. Panic stricken, Terdi Beg Khan fled from the battle field; in a moment what had been a victory was turned into a rout. Himu did not pursue the enemy and committed a great blunder; the victory at Tughluqabad placed Delhi at Himu's feet. The victor conveyed to his master Adil Shah at Chunar the tidings of this victory. The quick succession of victories won by Himu increased his pride. He assumed great state, wore a cocked cap and took upon himself the title of Raja Vikramjit (*Masir-i-Rahimi* Vol. I. p. 601). The Mughal empire seemed to be tottering to its fall.

Schooled in war and adversity, Akbar showed at this time great presence of mind. He ordered his army to put on their armour and proceed against Himu. In order to banish the dread of Himu from his troops, Akbar, as he marched towards Delhi, caused an effigy of Himu to be burnt.

After the victory at Tughluqabad, Himu had lost precious days in setting the affairs of Delhi aright. The news of the advance of Akbar, however, prompted him to action. He sent his park of artillery in advance under the leadership of Mubarak Khan and Bahadur Khan. They pushed forward to the town of Panipat. The

Mughal army was believed to be far off and the Afghan artillery halted there.

The vanguard of Akbar received this news and by forced marches covered a long distance and surprised the enemy. Many among the Afghan officers were put to the sword and the artillery was captured. This initial encounter inspired the Mughals with confidence and depressed the Afghans.

To increase the zeal of the Afghans for war, Himu bestowed largesses and gifts upon all and sundry. He increased the grant of land to Shadi Khan Kakar, a foremost warrior and then ordered his vast army, consisting of thirty thousand cavalry, one thousand and five hundred elephants, to advance against the Mughals.* The strength of Himu's army lay predominantly in his elephants. The stature and bulk of these creatures combined with skill and courage acquired in many battles had made them a terrible engine of war. These elephants were furnished with suits of mail and defensive armour and had their trunks armed with spears and knives. Musketeers and cross-bowmen were seated on their backs. Experienced in many a battle, these elephants had acquired a surprising mobility. The sight of these lordly animals, moving majestically in battle array, spread consternation in the Mughal army.

* It is said that on the day preceding the battle of Tughlaqabad, Himu went to the Mausoleum of Kutb-al-Hukk and vowed that if he could come out victorious, he would then embrace Islam (T. S. Afaghana).

It is said that three days before the battle of Panipat Bairam Khan held a durbar. It was a solemn occasion, the fate of the Mughals hang in the balance ; Hindustan, reconquered after so much hardship, was about to slip away. The Mughal chiefs attended the durbar ; many of them received presents and honour ; towards the end of the durbar Bairam Khan made a harangue before the officers drawing a vivid picture of the danger which menaced them all, "This is the commencement of His Majesty's reign. This infidel has routed the whole royal army and is making preparation against us. If you do your best in this affair with one heart and soul, Hindustan is yours. If you fall in this, you whose homes are at a distance of five hundred kos will not be able to find an asylum." (Elliot Vol. V. p. 64). The speech produced the desired impression and the Mughal chiefs vowed with one accord that they would win or die. The resolution of the Mughal chiefs was strengthened by the forebodings of a soothsayer who predicted a victory by examining the shoulder-blade of a sheep.

THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT. NOV. 1556.

Thus encouraged, the Mughal army (ten thousand strong) drew up on the field of Panipat* and awaited the attack of Himu. Their right wing was commanded by Sikandar Khan Uzbek, the left by Abdullah Khan

* Some eight miles west of Panipat city.

Uzbeg, and the centre was in charge of Ali Quli Shai-bani. On the day of battle Akbar starting from Karnal reached Garhunda, 10 miles north of Panipat. (*India of Aurangzeb* by Sir J. N. Sarkar).

On the side of Himu, the right wing was commanded by Shadi Khan Kakar, the left by Himu's sister's son Ramya, while he himself occupied the centre. The elephants were placed in charge of experienced riders. Thus, the elephant Galibjang was assigned to Hasan Khan Faujdar, Gaj Bhanwar to Maikal Khan, Jor Banyan to Ikhtiyar Khan, Fauj Madar to Sangram Khan, Kalibeg ridden by Himu himself on many previous occasions was entrusted to a driver named Capan. Himu himself mounted Hawai (wind). Armed to the teeth, sheathed in coats of mail, these elephants in battle army formed a solid rampart which could withstand the ceaseless assaults of the enemy.

After some preliminary skirmishes the battle began on Nov. 5, 1556. At first it went against the Mughals. Himu made such vigorous charges that the right and left wings of the Mughal army were shaken. A decisive victory, however, depended upon the destruction of the enemy centre. To accomplish it, he in person led a severe attack upon that division.

When the Mughal commanders found that their horses flinched before the elephants of Himu, they increased their reserve by withdrawing a portion of horsemen from the main body and sent these detachments round the right flanks of Himu's army to attack it in the rear. The element of surprise thus effected,

produced a certain amount of confusion and temporarily stemmed the attack of the Afghans.

Taking advantage of this check, bands of gallant archers from the wings of the Mughal army came and discharged their arrows, but Himu's attack was so fierce and violent that the Mughal army could not still withstand it.

Therefore, a retreat in echelon, the centre body under Ali Quli moving first, commenced. Ali Quli coming to a broken piece of ground, found that the depression there would be difficult for elephants to negotiate. Realising at once the technical value of such a position, Ali Quli built up an active defence ; he again withdrew a large body of horsemen from his command and sent it round the flank of the enemy. The right and left wings of the Mughals also co-operated in the attack by changing their frontage inwards and striking at the immediate flanks of the enemy. This simultaneous attack on all sides threw Himu's army into confusion, disorganized it and completely destroyed the morale of his troops.

Finding that all was about to be lost, Himu became desperate and tried to regain the confidence of his troops by acts of valour. "He showed every stratagem which his capacity could conceive and every daring deed which lurked in his seditious soul. He made many powerful onsets and dislodged many strenuous soldiers of the sublime army" but in his very presence his ablest officers fell ; Bhagwan Das, one of his best captains, was cut to pieces. Shadi Khan Kakar was

trampled to death. These acts of personal bravery inspired his troops and almost succeeded in turning the tide of battle, when an arrow struck Himu and pierced the socket of his eye. He fell down into the howda of his elephant. At once his army finding the back of his elephant empty, took him to be dead and broke into a disorderly rout. Five thousand of them lay dead on the field while a large number was killed in the pursuit. An immense booty fell into the hands of the enemy.

In this hour of confusion and disorder, Shah Quli Marhum came upon the elephant that was carrying Himu from the battle-field. The driver beckoned towards the howda and Shah Quli immediately discovered Himu who was lying down senseless. He seized the elephant and drove it to Akbar. Himu was then brought in chains before the boy king ; he put to him several questions, but bereft of senses Himu could make no reply. Bairam then asked Akbar to make an auspicious beginning of his reign by slaying an infidel, but Akbar refused to strike a senseless prisoner whereupon Bairam Khan severed Himu's head with a stroke of his sword. His head was sent to Kabul while his trunk was gibbeted in Delhi as a warning to rebels.

The second battle of Panipat ended in a victory for the Mughals. The Afghans and the Rajputs were overpowered by a handful of veterans from Central Asia. Their cavalry constituted, no doubt, the strength of the Mughals, but it was the well-directed flight of arrows that decided the battle of Panipat. The Mughal

horsemen paralysed the enemy by volleys of arrows. Even coats of mail were found to be a poor defence against these weapons. The Mughals had adopted every expedient to overcome the enemy. The mobility of the horsemen, the enveloping movements—in fact the new military strategy they introduced, gave them victory over overwhelming odds.

While the Mughals adopted a new strategy, Himu on the other hand, followed the traditional mode of warfare. Accordingly, he pinned his faith on the elephants, the cavalry was only auxiliary to it. In the traditional way, he took his seat on a lofty elephant, distinguished by a standard and thereby he made himself the target of the enemy's shafts.

The victory of the Mughals was, therefore, the victory of originality over tradition, of initiative over a dead old order. The battle of Panipat brought to an end the brief period of Afghan ascendancy and ushered in an era of creative activity. Himu who had risen like a meteor, disappeared but around his name legends grew up.

ESTIMATE OF HIMU

Of Himu, his temper and personality, the Muhammadan historians have left scanty records. A shop keeper, dealing in salt-petre in Rewari, he belonged to the Dhusar tribe and was born in Deoti-macari.*

* In the *Ain-i-Akbari* Deoti-macari is given as Deoti-sajari, Jarett Vol. II p. 191. In the *Rajputana Gazetteer* the two places are

Short of stature, devoid of personal grace, without a noble lineage, he yet played a great part in Indian history for three eventful years (1553-1556 A. D.) Falling under the good grace of Islam Shah, he rose steadily to eminence. Appointed superintendent of markets by Islam Shah, he was sent to escort Mirza Kamran to his presence.

After the death of Islam Shah, Adil entrusted him with the authority of general supervision over the administration of the country. After the rebellion of Taj Khan, and other eminent noblemen, Himu became Adil's general and chief adviser. Victory attended his arms everywhere and his military fame spread. Hero of two and twenty battles (Badauni), victorious against formidable opponents like Taj Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Muhammad Shah and Terdi Beg Khan, his very name caused a shudder in the Mughal army. His influence over soldiers was unbounded. Badauni relates a story that on one occasion Himu was presiding at a public banquet in which the eminent Afghan noblemen were present, Himu asked them to finish their meals quickly. If any nobleman was found slow in taking his meals, Himu admonished him. To this the Afghan noblemen made no protest but swallowed his insult like sweetmeat [T. D. ms.]. That the proud

mentioned distinctly macari and Deoti R. G. P. 280. Deoti seems to have been the chief town of the district in Akbar's time.

† Dhusar—a sub-division of the Gaur Brahmins now mainly employed in trade (Glossary of the Panjab tribes and castes Vol. II P. 188.)

self-respecting Afgans did not chafe at his treatment but submitted tamely to it, is a testimony to Himu's popularity.*

It is stated that after the conquest of Delhi he ascended the throne and struck coins in his name throwing off allegiance to his master Adil Shah (Ahmad Yadgar, Elliot, Vol. V p. 612). This accession of Himu to the throne is found on examination of the evidence of other contemporary historians, to be a false story, not a historical fact. None of the historians, the panegyrist Abul Fazl, the sober Nizamuddin and the bigoted Badauni asserts that Himu set himself up as an independed monarch. They merely state that he assumed the title of Raja Vikramjit and

* T. Daudi vilifies him in every possible way. It says that he put to death eminent noblemen and victorious soldiers of Adil. He dismissed the Afghan officials and appointed Chowdhuries, Qanungoes from greengrocers only. He destroyed all the soldiers of Adil (nista Nabud Sakhta). To all these Adil was indifferent. These do not sum up all his wicked acts. He killed the Afghans and said "where are your thousands of brothers now? Why do they not save you now? He caused seventeen sayyids of Rewari to be killed without any fault on their part. He forbade the slaughter of cows and wished to establish the practices of infidelity in Delhi. The honour of Islam was impaired and it was about to be uprooted. It is easy to see that the rise of a Hindu to such eminence provoked the ire of the fanatical Muhammadans. If Himu committed all the atrocious acts, the Afghan soldiers would have certainly disowned him as ther leader. As these malicious charges are not corroborated by any reliable historian, no credence should be paid.

other great names.* This title by itself cannot be regarded as an unmistakeable proof of his accession to the throne. No other historian except Ahmad Yadgar states that the true marks of sovereignty namely the striking of coins and the reading of the Khtba were ever adopted by him. No coin of Himu has been found any where. Moreover, according to the confession of Ahmad Yadgar himself, Himu acknowledged Adil Shah as his master even after the conquest of Delhi Oct. 6, 1556. Himu, therefore, could only assume the insignia of royalty in the interval of a month between Oct. 6, 1556 and the battle of Panipat Nov. 5, 1556 but it is extremely improbable that he would commit himself to such a hazardous enterprise and alienate his Afghan soldiers at a time when he had to concentrate his whole strength against the Mughals. There is little room for doubt that the assumption of royalty would have split the unity of his army upon which rested his only chances of success. The truth is that Himu after the conquest of Delhi became the

* Nizamuddin says Himun blew the trumpet of his pride in Delhi and himself assumed the title of Raja Vikramjit. The text *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Newal Keshore Press p. 245 runs.

که در دہلی کوس فرور مہنواخت - خود را جہ بیکرمجیت
خطاب کرد و بود -

Badauni says "Hemun gave himself the title of Raja Vikramjit who was a great Raja in Hindusthan." Abul Fazl says "for some time he took the title of Rai and then he fastened the title of Raja Vikramjit on himself. Thus did he in his folly apply great names to himself." *Masir-i-Rahimi* repeats the same same thing.

defacto sovereign, the uncrowned head but his master Adil remained the legitimate king of Hindustan. As the keen historian Abul Fazl says that "from foresight he preserved the nominal sovereignty for Adil and waged brave wars against his opponents." There is, therefore, hardly any justification for asserting on the sole testimony of Ahmad Yadgar that Himu cut off the slender tie of allegiance to Adil and seized the throne for himself.

Though the chosen leader of the Afghans and the Rajputs, Himu knew the limitations of his power. Neither the pride of power nor the intoxication of victory could induce him to overstep the limits of caution. Even Abul Fazl acknowledges the greatness of his master's adversary and pays tribute to his many good qualities: "On none of these occasions" (says Abul Fazl) "was there a ruler of India possessed of such courage, enterprise and plan... He was ever meditating the conquest of distant climes and kept hidden in his heart the designs of great expeditions" A. N. Vol. II p. 69. A shopkeeper, superintendent of market, royal messenger, general and uncrowned king of Northern India, Himu was the harbinger of a new era—an era in which the Hindus were to share equally with the Muhammadans the burdens of the State.

DEATH OF HIMU'S FATHER

The battle of Panipat made the Mughals master of Delhi. The Afghans chiefs were still powerful in the

country around. Haji Khan ruled independently in Alwar, Adil Shah was powerful in Chunar, Sikandar was secure in the fortress of Mankot, while Hasan Khan Bachgoti and Rukn Khan were struggling to set up their power in Sambhal.

An independent ruler in Alwar was a constant menace to the sultan of Delhi. Akbar dispatched his general Pir Muhammad Khan to Mewat. Haji Khan fled away. The Mughal general next turned his arms against the father of Himu, who lived in Deoti-macari within the country of Mewat. Deoti was fortified by nature ; the old man put up a resolute defence, but was ultimately compelled to surrender. He was captured and brought before Pir Muhammad Khan. The Mughal general asked him to change his religion. At this the proud old man replied, "why should I abandon my religion for love of life and embrace your faith without comprehending the essence of religion". The bold reply offended the general who put him to death. (A. N. Vol. II p. 72). The Mughal general then hastened to Kuwa and Bajwara,* the seat of power of Himu's widow. Before the arrival of the Mughal general, Himu's wife escaped, scattering gold as she went on the way. Thus after Himu, disappeared his father and widow.

* Lowe says in F. N. p 10 Vol. II that Bajwara is in the neighbourhood of the river sutlej. This is obviously not correct. Himu's wife could not possibly have been in the Punjab which had been lost to the Mughals. This Bajwara is in the sarkar of Agra, Jarett Vol. II p. 182.

CHAPTER X

STRUGGLE BETWEEN SIKANDAR AND AKBAR, ADIL SHAH AND SULTAN GHIYASUDDIN BAHADUR OF BENGAL

SIKANDAR'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MUGHALS

After his defeat at Sirhind, Sikandar betook himself to the Siwalik hills. (July 1555). The Mughals had crippled but not crushed him. He was still a menace. As Humayun marched to Delhi, he appointed a very able officer Shah Abu-l-Maali in Lahore to watch Sikandar but the wealth of the Punjab and the eminence of his position soon turned this officer's head and he began to give royal airs.

Taking advantage of his rebellious attitude, Sikandar issued from the hills and descended on the Punjab (A. N. Vol. I p 639). To suppress Shah Abu-l-Maali and to quell Sikandar, Humayun promptly ordered Akbar to proceed to the Punjab under the guardianship of Bairam Khan, (Nov. 1555). When the royal army arrived at Sirhind, Sikandar again withdrew to the hills (Dec. 1555). Soon afterwards on Jan. 24, 1556, Humayun died and his death arrested the prosecution of the campaign in the Punjab for the time being.

Sikandar made capital of the distress of the Mughals. He once more issued from the hills and invaded the Punjab. Immediately after his accession, Akbar

resumed the campaign against Sikandar. The Mughal army reached the foot of the Siwalik hills and encamped at Dhamiri (identified with Nurpur in Kangra). Sikandar had learnt wisdom from his defeat and retreated without a battle into the defiles. The Mughal army did not venture to enter the narrow passes and after spending three months there, came back to Jalandhar (May 1556). So long as the Mughal army remained encamped at Jalandhar, Sikandar remained quiet. Soon afterwards (August 1556 ?) Himu began his victorious campaign and the Mughal army was compelled to march against him, leaving Khizir *Khwaja* in Lahore to deal with Sikandar.

Sikandar, who had been playing a strategical hide-and seek now stirred up disturbances again. Tasting the bitterness of successive defeats, he still fought shy of an encounter with the Mughals. It was at this time Maulana Abdullah Sultanpuri, a patron of the Sur dynasty, brought his influence to bear upon the irresolute Sikandar and spurred him to action. He collected a number of landholders and adventurers and began to collect revenue in the Punjab like a lawful king.

The Mughal governor Khizir Khwaja could not brook this insolence and marched against him. Sikandar, strong in numbers, defeated the Mughal vanguard consisting of a picked body of two thousand men. Khizir Khwaja fled to Lahore. Sikandar pursued him for a considerable distance and once more began to collect the revenue.

In the meanwhile momentous events had taken place ; the battle of Panipat had placed the crown of India on Akbar's head. As soon as Akbar received the news of the defeat of Khizir Khwaja, he dispatched his general Sikandar Khan Uzbek against him, with Sialkot as his jaagir. Soon after Akbar himself proceeded to the Siwalik hills to extirpate Sikandar (Dec. 1556).

The once dashing, impetuous Sikandar had been tamed by his many defeats ; with the renewed advance of the Mughal army, he again crept into the holes. By slow and careful marches, the Mughal army went to Dhamiri. Sikandar did not stir. An open fighting with the Mughals would end only in disaster. Accordingly, he wanted to lure the Mughal army into the narrow passes and cut them to pieces. But the Mughals were not to be deceived so easily. They harried and devastated the country and brought the zemindars under their control. The Mughals sowed discord among the adherents of Sikandar and succeeded in defeating a detachment of Sikandar's army. In course of pursuit, the dare-devils of the Mughal army dashed upon Sikandar's camp. Sikandar fled in alarm to the fortress of Mankot, which had been built by far-sighted Islam Shah to ward off the Mughal invasion.

SIEGE OF MANKOT,—FEB. 1557

With the retirement of Sikandar into the fortress of Mankot, the struggle between him and the Mughals was practically at an end. Sikandar, a scion of Sher Shah,

a redoubtable warrior, once master of Delhi and Agra, virtually became a prisoner. The Mughals pushed apace their preparations for a siege. They advanced to the foot of the fortress, drew up lines of circumvallation and threw up redoubts. A prolonged siege was in prospect. The Afghans were driven to desperation. A band of desperadoes among them came out of the fortress, and walked sword in hand with haughty strides in front of it. This arrogant attitude of the Afghans affronted the Mughals. One of their brave men Adam Khan suddenly attacked them and after putting several of them to sword, retired to his camp. Occasional scuffles of this type took place with indecisive results. The volleys of the guns and the muskets of the Afghans kept the enemy at bay. Sikandar held on with the stubbornness of despair. His only hope now lay in a diversion on the part of Adil Shah but all his hopes were frustrated by the death of Adil Shah in the battle of Surajgarh.

AFGHAN RISINGS

When the Mughal army became engaged in the protracted fighting with Sikandar, the Afghan chiefs raised their heads again. Rukn Khan Lohani rose in Sambhal but was subdued by Khan Zaman.

Another rebellion was organised by Hasan Khan Bachgoti, a renowned warrior. He placed Jalal Khan Sur, a representative of the Sur dynasty at the head of his army and enlisted the support of the Afghans ; an army

of twenty thousand men flocked round him and began to plunder the sarkar of Sambhal. Muhammad Sayyid Shaibani, brother of Khan Zaman, wanted to check his progress, but was defeated (Lowe, Vol II p 18). Hasan Khan's cause seemed to prosper, but a heavy defeat inflicted upon him by Khan Zaman dashed all his hopes (A. N. Nol. II p. 89).

This was the moment when Adil Shah should have dashed down with his forces upon the Mughals, but just at this time the sultan of Bengal attacked Adil and brought ruin upon themselves.

FIGHT BETWEEN ADIL SHAH AND THE SULTAN OF BENGAL

We have seen that the defeat and death of Muhammad Shah placed the whole of the eastern provinces at the feet of Adil Shah. He appointed Shahbaz Khan governor of Bengal, but Khizir Khan (the son of Muhammad Shah) rallied his forces and proclaimed himself sovereign of Bengal at Jhunsi under the title of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah. Towards the end of 1556 A.D. he invaded Bengal at the head of a large army and after overcoming the resistance of Shahbaz Khan made himself master of Bengal. (Riyazus p. 148).

Ambitious and enterprising, Bahadur Shah found the moment favourable for realising the unfulfilled ambition of his father. Himu had disappeared. Adil Shah was weak. The Mughal army was engaged in far-off Mankot.

Bahadur Shah marched with a numerous army along the bank of the Ganges and foiled all chances of a possible diversion on the part of Adil. The two chiefs Adil Shah and Bahadur Shah, acting in concert, could have disconcerted the Mughals but the Afghans were their own enemy.

Bahadur Shah advanced along the bank of the Ganges. Starting from Chunar Adil reached Patna. After equipping his army there, he pushed on to Mungir. He crossed the river Panpan between Patna and Dariyapur which has a winding course for ~~several~~ miles and reached Dariyapur. There Adil received the news that Bahadur Shah was very close to ~~him~~, on the other side of the Ganges. To intercept his march, Adil sent the bulk of his army across the Ganges and himself remained encamped with a small army on the other side. Adil laid out his plans very carefully but Bahadur Shah completely outwitted him. On hearing the news that Adil had sent the greater part of his troops on to this side of the Ganges, Bahadur Shah transferred his army to the other side of the Ganges in the darkness of the night. Adil was taken at a disadvantage, but maintained his spirit and drew up his army near a small stream two miles from Surajgarh. Surajgarh is a narrow plain hemmed in between the Ganges on one side and Kharagpur hills on the other. Here a small army could easily make a stand against immense numbers. (T. D. Ms.)

The battle began when the morning broke. Adil displayed great valour, but was defeated by sheer

numbers. He lay dead on the battle-field and with him the sun of Sur fortune that had arisen in Surajgarh set for ever* 1557 A. D.

ESTIMATE OF ADIL SHAH

Refined and polished Adil Shah held sway for a period of four years. Not averse to war he had a great passion for music and dancing in which he acquired a rare excellence. †Miyan Tansen, the famous Kalawant and Baz Bahadur, the ruler of Malwa, another well-known musician of the time, were his disciples. His exceptional skill in the handling of musical instruments astonished the best musicians of the time. It is said that on one occasion a musician from the Deccan brought into his assembly an instrument called Pakhwaj. This instrument was so long that one could not touch both its ends at once between full stretched hands. All the musicians who had been present tried to play on it but failed. Adil then took up the instrument and began to play on it with hands and leg. The whole assembly was astonished. Adil appreciated greatly musical talents. Attracted by the beauty and musical skill of a Bhagat boy, Adil educated him and promoted him to the rank of a commander of ten thousand when he became king.

In the daintiness of food and delicacy of clothing Adil was without a peer. It is said that while he was a commander of twenty thousand at Ajawan during the

* T. D. gives the date of Adil's death as 968 A. H. which is not correct.

† Badauni gives the name as Tausin.

reign of Islam Shah, one day he felt very hungry after a Polo game and became a guest of Ghazi Khan Sur. Adil took his seat at the table but as soon as the sheep's fried liver was placed on the dish before him, he caught a disgusting smell and left the place. He used camphor so profusely that his servants used to gather camphor of the finest quality two or three times a day from his wardrobe. But love of luxury did not vitiate his morals. He kept his fasts and prayers and gave up the use of intoxicants.

A commander of twenty thousand during the reign of Islam Shah, he showed his military skill by personally conducting the war against Taj Khan Karrani and Bahadur Shah. The little that we know of his life shows that his was not a life given entirely to the pleasures of the flesh, but that he was a refined and æsthetic sovereign who knew how to play on a violin as well as to wield a sword.*

BAHADUR SHAH'S ADVANCE TO JAUNPUR

Bahadur Shah, after his victory over Adil, pushed on towards Jaunpur with an army of thirty thousand men. He at first defeated the Mughal force that opposed his advance, but his triumph was short-lived. Khan Zaman, the reputed general, inflicted a defeat on him and Bahadur Shah's dream of a sovereignty over Hindustan melted away.

* Abul Fazl says that Adil did not know how to ride a horse and was always carried about in an elephant box ; again he says that Adil in his courage and audacity freely spent the money which had come of itself into his hands and did great deeds such as men could not conceive,

SURRENDER OF SIKANDAR

The death of Adil Shah was a prologue to the surrender of Sikandar, who had been hoping against hope that the tide of his fortune would turn with the rising of Adil Shah in the eastern provinces. That faint ray of hope was gone.

As the Mughals continued the siege of Mankot, food-stuffs became dear, the garrison starved ; many of his noblemen deserted him. Disheartened and downcast, he opened negotiations for surrender. He propitiated Nasir-ul-Mulk, the wakil of Khan Khanan, and begged through him the mercy of Akbar. Akbar agreed and assigned to him a jaigir in Bihar and Kharid. As a guarantee for good conduct, he sent his son Abdur Rahman and a confidential officer Ghazi Khan Tanuri to the Mughal camp. The fortress was surrendered on May 24, 1557. Sikander retired in Bihar in that year but died two years later 1559 (A. N. Vol. II. p. 91).^{*} Thus one after another all the representatives of the Sur dynasty except two disappeared. There now remained only Ibrahim Khan Sur who had retired, from the arena of contest after a stormy career, into obscurity and Sher Khan, the son of Adil Shah.

^{*} Badauni gives a different version of the end of Adil Khan. He says that Jaunpur was at first assigned to him but after Khan Zaman had cleared Jaunpur of the Afghans, Sikandar asked for the district of Gaur that he might bring it under his command. There all sorts of accidents befell him and after some time.....Sikandar attached himself to his old friends and fickle fate folded for him the carpet of gladness. Lowe p. 12.

SHER KHAN'S EXPEDITION, DEFEAT AND DISAPPEARANCE

After the death of Adil Shah and the fall of Sikandar, the Afghans rallied once more under Sher Khan, the son of Adil Shah, to strike at the growing power of the Mughals.

In 1561 there was a split in the Mughal camp. Bairam Khan rebelled against Akbar. Taking advantage of this, Sher Khan marched towards Jaunpur, with an army of twenty thousand cavalry, fifty thousand infantry and five hundred elephants. Khan Zaman, the Mughal general had collected the officers of the neighbourhood and had strengthened the defences of Jaunpur. The Afghans advanced without opposition and encamped opposite Jaunpur, on the other side of the Gumti. Khan Zaman did not venture to cross the river and meet this vast army. On the third day the Afghans crossed the river and laid siege to Jaunpur. Sher Khan and Fateh Khan proceeded with a large army towards the mosque of Sultan Husain Sharqi, a large detachment was sent towards the Red gate under Yaqub Khan, Fatuh, while a third detachment was sent towards the embankment of Shaikh Bahlul under Hasan Khan Bachgoti and Adam, the son of Fatuh.

Khan Zaman prepared for battle. After a preliminary encounter Khan Zaman fell suddenly upon the left wing of the Afghan army commanded by Hasan Khan and dispersed it, but this first repulse was retrieved by Sher Khan who drove the Mughal army back into the city. After the disorderly retreat of

the Mughal army, the Afghans thought they had won the day and started in another direction. Khan Zaman rallied his followers and attacked the Afghans from the rear with flights of arrows. Taken unawares and unable to withstand the shafts of arrows, the Afghans fled. Thus the last victory of the Afghans ended in a sad discomfiture owing to an absence of caution and foresight on their part.

Sher Khan disappeared after the battle and with him the Sur dynasty came to an end. The Surs held sway for a decade and a half only (1540-1556). Nevertheless, their period of ascendancy marks an epoch in Indian history. The old political structure was breaking down and the path was prepared for an era of royal absolutism. It was during this age that the appointment of the Hindus to posts under the government, provision of drinking water for them in the sarais served to improve the relation between the two communities. Thus the Hindu-Muhammadian rapproachment, so conspicuous a feature of Akbar's reign, had its beginnings in this period. Above all, uniform laws and administration, common sarais and the net-work of roads served to establish the unity of the country and to awaken a consciousness of common nationality.

APPENDIX

SOME MINOR EVENTS IN THE REIGN OF ISLAM SHAH

An old darwesh lived in a mosque of Lahore where the travellers used to stop. The house of this darwesh was situated in a village on the other side of the Ravi. Whenever the darwesh came across a traveller, young and rich, near the mosque, he used to go near him and engage in a friendly talk.

The old man used to beguile the traveller by saying that his house was very near but as he had a beautiful daughter—so beautiful that the sun and the moon drew their effulgence from her beauty—he was staying there to secure a suitable groom for his daughter. "Be pleased Sir," said the darwesh "to come to my house and have a sight of my daughter and if she finds favour in your sight, remove your goods to my house and stay there so that I can make you familiar and intimate with her." By this trick the darwesh used to entice the traveller into his house and by mixing poison with food, killed the man.

It happened that one day the old man lured a young man in his house according to the customary practice and caused him with his companions to be murdered. By chance one of the servants of this young man had gone to the bazar and when he did not find his master after his arrival, he began to make anxious enquiries in the neighbourhood. The people told him to go to the next station and enquire. The servant ran as fast as he could but to no purpose. He then came back to the first sarai where he had alighted and saw that some people were loading away a few horses to give them water. The servant immediately recognised the horses and enquired the men of the horses and of their owner. When he understood the matter, he ran to the police and lodged a complaint with them. The police came to the house of the darwesh and found the stolen property with the horses. After search, a well was discovered containing the dead bodies of the murdered men and bones of immense quantity. The matter was reported to Islam Shah whereupon the darwesh received the punishment he deserved.

(ii) In Lahore there lived one magician who used to give amulets to the people. It was, however, his fixed practice to give them to women only in privacy so that the man, if he found the women to be rich, could easily murder her.

One occasion a woman who was not loved by her husband sought the assistance of this sorcerer. As the woman was rich, the man put her to death and took away her ornaments. The dead body of the woman was put into a bundle and ordered to be thrown outside the city, which was easily done. But when the servants came back to the gate of the city the night had far advanced. The gate-keeper refused to open the gate and enquired the men as to the contents of the bundle they had carried. The men thereupon became perplexed and wanted to leave this place. Suspecting foul play the gate-keeper put these men into chains. The matter was reported to the kotwal who discovered the whole affair. By the order of Islam Shah the sorcerer was put to death.

(T. D. Sir J. N. Sarkar's ms.)

THE DEATH OF HIMU

The historian V. A. Smith takes great pains to show in J. R. A. S. that Himu was slain by Akbar at the instance of Bairam Khan. He bases his statement on the account of Ahmad Yadgar, the author of *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana* and says [Elliott Vol. V. P. 66] "Bairam Khan took Himu before the young and fortunate prince and said "As this is our first success, let Your Highness's own august hand smite the infidel with the sword. The prince accordingly struck him and divided his head from his unclean body. A later foreign observer De laet wrote "Akbar at the request of Ali Quli Khan by a deed unworthy of prince severed the neck of the surrendered prisoner with a scimitar and directed the head to be affixed to the gates of Delhi". There is another historian not noticed by V. A. Smith who lends support to the account of Ahmad Yadgar. Arif, an attendant of Bairam Khan, the author of *Tarikh-i-Arif Qandahari* says (Sir J. N. Sarkar's copy p. 75) when Himu was brought before his Royal Majesty, Akbar was advised to strike the adversary. As soon as he struck him he became entitled

Ghazi : a breath of life still remained in his body ; Khan Khanan Muhammad Bairam Khan by a stroke of his sword sent him to the eternal resting-place."

While this is the testimony of Ahmad Yadgar, De Laet* and Arif there are other contemporary historians who positively assert that Akbar did not sever the head of Himu with his sword ; on the other hand it was Bairam Khan who struck Himu with his sword and beheaded him

First, let us examine the evidence of Abul Fazl who says "Bairam Khan, Khan Khanan, begged His Majesty to slay with his sacred hand the stock of sedition and to acquire merit by a holy combat. Though simple loyalists importuned and pressed him, the Shahin Shah showed himself more averse to the proceedings. At last when Bairam Khan perceived that His Majesty was not inclined to take this view, he withdrew from the attempt and himself became engaged in the acquisition of this fancied merit and with his sword cleansed the world from the contamination of his existence" A. N. Vol. II p. 66.

While the account of Abul Fazl may be discredited as being that of the panegyrist, there can be no such reason for rejecting the evidences of other historians like Nizamuddin, Badauni, Abdallah & Firishtha. Thus says Nizamuddin (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Newal Kishore Press p. 245 "Shah Quli Khan regarding the booty as an invaluable prize, drove the elephant from the battle field and brought it before the royal presence. Khan Khanan Bairam Khan then killed Himu by his hand."

This is corroborated by Badauni,—shaikh Gadai Kambu and others said to the emporor, "Since this is your Majesty's first war

* There is another historian who supports Ahmad Yadgar but as it is mentioned only in Dorn's translation and not in Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's ms. it is not safe to place much stress on it. "Shah Quli Khan led the elephant to Babar and dismounting Himu, presented him before the monarch. Himu when carried before Akbar breathed his last but the emperor with his own hand severed the head of that infidel from the body and assumed from that time the title of Akbar Padshah Ghazi" Dorn's translation p 176. '

against the infidels, you should flesh your sword in this unbeliever, for such an act would have great reward. The emperor replied "why should I strike him now that he is already as good as dead? If sensation and activity were left in him, I would do so". Then the Khan Khanan was the first to strike with his sword and following his example Gadai Shaik and others deliberately made an end of him.

Abdullah also exculpates Akbar from this charge. He says Bairam Khan urged as this was the first victory over the infidels, Your Majesty should slay the infidel with your own hand. Akbar replied "As he is already dead, it is no use defiling the sword". However he was killed (Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's Ms).

Firishta also says that in response to the request of Bairam Khan to slay Himu Akbar merely touched the head with his sword. Bairam Khan then severed the neck with his sword and sent his head to Kabul.

Jahangir in his memoir relates that Akbar refused to slay him, because he had on a former occasion cut the effigy of Himu to pieces "Not defiling his hand with Himu's blood, he ordered one of his servants to cut off his head".

Even the son of Bairam Khan, Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim* says that Akbar refused to slay Himu who was beheaded by his father. He says Shah Quli Marhum who had been the attendant of Bairam

* شاه قلی مرحوم کہ ملازم خان خانان بود.....همون را
 دستگیر نموده بحضور قدوس آورد - هر چند سخنان ازو
 پرسیدند از جهالت جواب نداد - خان خانان التماس نمود کہ
 شاهنشاه همون را بدست خود بگذرند و بوسه‌ای خواہر مدارج
 ثواب للہ نمایند - از گفتن اسیر همت او شان ابا نمود - خان
 خانان چون دانست کہ حضرت شاهنشاه متوجه نمیشوند -
 خود در تحصیل این ثواب موہوم شد عالم را از لوث هستی او
 پاک ساخت *

Khan having seized Himu brought him before his holy presence (Akbar's). Though many questions were put to him he could make no reply. Khan Khanan requested His Majesty to despatch him with his own hand but Akbar refused to slay a captive. When he perceived that His Majesty would not do it, he decided to earn this merit and cleansed the world from the contamination of his existence.

The other histories of the period like *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *Akbar Nama* of Faiz-i-Sirhindi Elliot p 253 testify to the fact that Bairam Khan slew Himu.

It is extremely unfair to set aside the joint testimony of so many historians and to accept the evidences only of Ahmad Yadgar & Arif. It is needless to examine the other arguments of V. A. Smith which are puerile. This historian himself found his position untenable for he says in *J. B. A. S. F. N.* p. 529 that the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* and many other histories say that the prince declined to commit this act of wanton brutality, and his subsequent actions render this belief highly probable. It would not be reasonable to hold that Himu was slain by Akbar against the joint testimony of so many historians.
